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Marquess of Ailsa.

WITHDRAWN
FROM STOCK

THE

PARLIAMENTARY

OR

CONSTITUTIONAL

Hiſtory of England,

From the earlieſt TIMES,

TO THE

Reſtoration of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED

From the RECORDS, the ROLLS of Parliament, the JOURNALS of both Houſes, the Public LIBRARIES, Original MANUSCRIPTS, ſcarce SPEECHES, and TRACTS; all compared with the ſeveral Contemporary Writers, and connected, throughout, with the Hiſtory of the Times.

By SEVERAL HANDS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

Which finiſhes the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

LONDON,

Printed for J. and R. TONSON, and A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; and W. SANDBY, in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

MDCCLXIII.

PARLIAMENTARY OR CONSTITUTIONAL

History of England,

From the earliest Period

TO THE

Reformation of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED

From the Records, the Rolls of Parliament, the Journals of both Houses, the Votes, the Records, the Journals, Memoirs, Letters, Speeches, and Diaries; the Chronicles and the most Celebrated Contemporary Writers, and compared, digested, and now, with the Latest Edition, corrected.

BY SAMUEL HANDS.

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THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE War with *France* being now actually begun, and the Sinews of it much wanted; Writs were sent out, dated at *Weſtminſter*, *November* the 10th, for a Parliament to meet there, on the 11th Day of *January* following, in the 5th Year of this Reign. Queen Elizabeth. Anno Regni 5, 1562.

On the Day of their Meeting, the Queen, it ſeems, was again indiſpoſed *(a)*; and therefore another Writ of Prorogation was produced by the Lord Keeper and other Lords of the Council, and read, whereby this Parliament was prorogued only to the next Day, being the 12th of the ſame Month. At Weſtminſter.

On that Day the Parliament began; and it may not be amiſs to give the Form of the Queen's Proceſſion to the Houſe *(b)*. She rode that Morning from her Palace, in great State, to *Weſtminſter* Abbey; accompany'd with all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. The Queen was clad in a Crimſon

(a) She was ſomewhat ſick of a Stych. *Com. Jour.*

(a) *Strype's Annals*, p. 255. See *Dewes's Journals*, p. 58, &c. for the whole.

Queen Elizabeth. 1562. Velvet Robe, the Earl of *Northumberland* bearing the Sword before her; all the Heralds at Arms in their rich Mantles, Trumpets blowing, *&c.* The Biſhops, twenty-two in Number, riding in their Robes of Scarlet lined, and Hoods down their Backs of *Minever (c)*. The Queen lighted at our Lady of *Grace's* Caapel, and, with her noble and ſtately Retinue, went in at the North Door of the Abbey, where ſhe heard a Sermon preach'd by Dr *Nowell*, Dean of St *Paul's*; and then a Pſalm being ſung, ſhe and her honourable Company went out of the South Door, to the Parliament Chamber, and ſoon after to the Houſe.

The Lord Keeper's Speech, and other initial Ceremonies, are omitted in the Lords *Journal*, but are ſupplied in Sir *Symonds Dewes's*. Who tells us, that the Queen being preſent, and the Houſes met, the Lord Keeper, *Bacon*, by her Command, opened the Cauſe of the Summons in theſe Words:

My Lords and others of this honourable Aſſembly,

The Lord Keeper's Speech at Opening the Seſſion.

'YOU ſhall underſtand, that my moſt dread and Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majeſty, here preſent, hath commanded me to declare the Occaſion of this Aſſembly; which I am not able (but unmeet) to do, as it ought to be done, among ſuch a noble, wiſe and diſcreet Company. Howbeit, knowing the Experience of her Majeſty, bearing with ſuch as do their good Wills, and your Honours Patience, in bearing with me in the like afore this Time; it encourageth me the better herein, not doubting of the like at this preſent. Therefore, my Lords, the Occaſion is, that neceſſary Matters be provided for, propounded and ſcanned, and after agreed upon and ended, which afterwards ſhall remain and continue; which Matters, in my Judgment, may well be divided into two Parts; one touching Religion, for the ſetting forth of God's Honour and Glory; and the other concerning Policy, for the Common-wealth;

(c) Beaver Skin. *Minever*, a Fr. G. Minuver, Minuvair, *Pellis Muris cujuſdam Pontici ad ſuffulciendas Veſtes hibernas expetita.* Skinner's *Etym. Dict.*

'wealth; as well for Provision at home, as to pro- Queen Elizabeth.
'vide for the Foreign Enemy abroad: which said 1562.
'Matters of Religion, may again be divided into
'two Parts; for God's Cause being sincerely
'weighed, consider'd and followed, bringeth forth
'good Success in all affairs; and being not fol-
'lowed, but neglected, and made light of, how
'can any Thing prosper or take good Effect?
'And the greater the Personages be which so abuse
'the same, the greater the Fault is, to the Damage
'of the whole Commonwealth; for all Men's Eyes
'be fixed on those who be in Authority; for as
'the Head is, even so is the Foot; and after the
'Superior followeth the Inferior. For as God's
'Law itself is perfect, so there is no Imperfection
'therein, but that which cometh of ourselves,
'wherein I cannot excuse either the Spiritualty or
'Laity. For as the Preachers be not so diligent
'in their Vocation of Preaching, as they ought to
'be, even so we of the Laity be neither so diligent
'in hearing, nor yet in doing, as we should be.
'And thirdly, some of the Laity, in not giving
'Credit unto it, as it ought for to be. For as all
'in Authority ought to be credited, and their Do-
'ings taken in the best Part, yet I would wish the
'same should continue no longer than they do
'well.

'And where at this present there is great Want
'of Ministers, and some of them that be, be much
'insufficient; which, considering the Time, are
'to be born withall, not doubting the Circumspec-
'tion of the Bishops, in well looking to the placing
'of such, which shall be appointed hereafter;
'and those which be, and will not be reformed, to
'have sharp Punishment. For as heretofore the
'Discipline of the Church hath not been good; and
'again, that the Ministers thereof have been
'slothful; even so for Want of the same hath
'sprung two Enormities: The first is, that for lack
'thereof, every Man liveth as he will, without
'Fear; and secondly, many Ceremonies agreed
'upon, but the right Ornaments thereof are either

Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

'left undone or forgotten. As in one Point, for 'Want of Diſcipline it is that ſo few come to 'Service, and the Church ſo unrepleniſh'd, notwith-'ſtanding that at the laſt Parliament, a Law was 'made for good Order to be obſerved in the ſame; 'but yet, as appeareth, not yet executed. There-'fore if it be too eaſy, let it be made ſharper, and 'if already well, then ſee it executed. For the 'Want of Diſcipline cauſeth Obſtinacy, Contempt 'and growing of Hereſy; therefore better to be 'winked at and unſpoken, than bruted abroad and 'unperformed: Therefore, in mine Opinion, the 'Device is good, that in every Dioceſe there be 'Officers appointed and deviſed, as hath been 'thought good, to ſit for the Redreſs of theſe and 'ſuch like Errors, twice or thrice a year, till the 'Faults be amended. In which well doing, the 'Head-Officers are to be born withall, and main-'tained; and Laws to be made for the purpoſe: 'The chief Care of which ſaid former Matters 'pertaineth to you, my Lords of the Spiritualty; 'wherein you muſt take Pains to travel, where-'unto be Laws to be joined; not only for the more 'perfecting of the ſame, but for the Maintenance, 'as well of the Heads as the Miniſters thereof.

'Now to the ſecond Part, of Policy for the 'Commonwealth; for as there be Faults for 'Want of Diſcipline, ſo are there Faults in the 'Imperfection, and Want of Execution, which 'Imperfection muſt be look'd unto; and Want of 'Laws which needeth to be provided for and made; 'and to conſider, if there be not too many Laws 'for one Thing, and thoſe ſo large and buſy, that 'neither the commons can underſtand the ſame 'nor yet well the Lawyer, which would be brought 'into ſome briefer and better Order, and there ex-'ecuted. For which Purpoſe, it is neceſſary to 'take care, to have good Miniſters thereof; and 'ſecondly, to baniſh all Fearfulneſs for proſecut-'ing the ſame; and over and beſides, that to ap-'point proved Men to inquire of theſe Miniſters, 'whereby they may have the better Regard to their

'Duty:

Queen Elizabeth's 1562.

‘ Duty: For, even as the Visitation of the Church ‘ is and was well appointed for the Church, so now ‘ is the like to be appointed for the Temporalty. ‘ For if the Laws be not well executed, my Part ‘ is not the least thereof, which yearly I would be ‘ glad to hear of. The third for the Enemy, as ‘ well here bred amongst us, as abroad: For ‘ whereas the Queen's Majesty at her Entrance ‘ found this Realm in War with Foreign Power, ‘ at which Time Lack of Treasure, Artillery, ‘ Force, and other Things, caused her to agree to ‘ a Peace, although not the best, howbeit for our ‘ Surety she spared no Cost to bring it to pass; ‘ which notwithstanding, of later Time, certain ‘ old cankered Enemies of this Realm, attempted ‘ to put in Execution to bring the *Scots* to the Go- ‘ vernance of *France*, and so being a firm Land to ‘ ours, to have been our utter Enemies; which ‘ Danger the Queen foreseeing, sought by all ‘ Means, as well by her Embassadors as others, to ‘ stay the Enterprise, but could not; and therefore ‘ helped her Neighbours of *Scotland*, and so disap- ‘ pointed that Attempt; or else afore this Time ‘ I doubt the *Scottish* Territories would have been ‘ too little to have holden them, but that they ‘ would have troubled us, not only at *Berwick*, but ‘ at the Walls of *York*; which Attempt, being by ‘ the Means of her Majesty stayed and letted, the said ‘ bent Enemies have attempted the same in *France*, ‘ to the whole Disturb nce of all *Christendom*, and ‘ all done for the Mischief of this Realm, joined ‘ with a deviliſh Conspiracy within ourselves, tend- ‘ ing to the aiding of the Foreign Enemy; and by ‘ their own Confession to have raised a Rebellion ‘ in this Realm: And for that by none of her ‘ Grace's Travels or Means, she could there stay ‘ their Enterprise, or make them agree, she was ‘ forced the rather to stay the same, for the Surety ‘ of this Realm, to the no little Charge of her Ma- ‘ jesty: For in these Proceedings, and in repair- ‘ ing of these and other like Faults, I dare be bold

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'to say (for that I am thereof assur'd) it hath cost 'her Majesty as much as two of the best Subsidies, 'which at any Time hath been within this Realm; 'and all at her own proper Charges, without either straining of her Subjects, or having Aid of 'them, towards the same. Howbeit she yet thinketh it will spent; for often it chanceth, that 'Money is better spent than spared; as the common Saying is, That a Penny is well spent which 'afterwards saveth a Pound. And so in this, if 'that Money had not been so spent, in staying in 'Time their attempted Enterprises, it would afterwards have turned to no little Prejudice, nor 'yet small Charge of this Realm. And where 'afore this Time Princes commonly have had some 'Vein or Delight to spend Treasure upon for their 'Pleasure, which the Queen hath none, but only 'for the Commonwealth and Surety thereof; so 'that we may most justly and fortunately say to 'her great Praise, that the relieving of the Realm's 'Necessities is our Prince's whole Delight: And 'notwithstanding all the Disbursements of these 'her great Charges, yet she was (as I right well 'know) very hardly brought to, and persuaded to 'call this Parliament, in which she should be driven to require any Aid, or by any Means to 'charge her Subjects, if by any other Means it 'might have been holpen; and so her Majesty 'herself commanded to be declared. And I for 'my Part, and so do others very well know; for 'the Commons little think or consider what a 'Trouble Want is to her, whereby she is forced 'to ask of them, (which surely is against her Nature) but that she is thereunto forced, for the 'Surety of this Realm.

'And for that the Nether House cannot, being 'so many together, but of Necessity must have 'one to be a Mouth, Aider or Instructor unto 'them, for the Opening of Matters, which is 'called the Speaker; therefore go and assemble 'yourselves together and elect one, a discreet, 'wise, and learned Man, to be your Speaker, and

'on *Friday* next the Queen's Majesty appointeth 'to repair hither again, for to receive the Present-'ment of him accordingly.' Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

On the 15th of *January*, the Commons came again before the Queen, and presented *Thomas Williams*, Esq; one of the Fellows of the Inner Temple, their Speaker elect; whose Excuse for Insufficiency not being allow'd, he made a most elaborate Speech on his Induction; which, for the Rarity of the Stile, and other Incidents, is judged as worthy of a Place in this History as the Lord Keeper's. Thomas Williams, Esq. Speaker.

Most Honourable,

'ALthough afore this Time the Place hath 'been furnished with Orators, and therefore 'their Matter entreated of worthily call'd an Ora-'tion: yet I now, void of any such Knowledge, 'require that Name may be left, and that it might 'bear the Name of an Epistle with a Request. 'And for the better Understanding thereof, I will 'divide the Matter into three Parts; one for Time 'past; and the second, Time present; and the 'third, Time to come. But fearing to fall be-'tween two Mountains as to be counted either 'ungrate, or dissembling, I know not what to 'say; but yet seeing Savage Beasts forget not 'them who do well unto them, as appeareth by 'the Story of a Lyon, out of whose Foot a certain 'Man took a Thorn, which said Person being af-'terwards cast to the same Lyon to be devoured, 'the Lyon not forgetting, but remembering the 'former Kindness shewed unto him, would not 'devour him, but ever after followed the same 'Man; even so, without too much Ingratitude, 'can I not let pass your Majesty's manifold Bene-'fits extended upon us; which although worthily 'to be declared, pass my Capacity now to ex-'press; yet think it Blasphemy to suffer it clean 'to be untouch'd, and therefore in some part will 'put in remembrance the same; which I will di-'vide into two Parts, the one spiritual the other 'temporal. The Speaker's Speech upon his Election.

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'temporal. For the first, when God planted your 'Highness in this Place, you found it not so fur-'nish'd with Treasure as other your Predecessors 'have, although if you had, yet Occasions enough 'to employ it; which notwithstanding, you did 'not take the Extremity of Penal Statutes, and 'other Forfeitures, due unto you, but pardoned 'all such as in Time convenient requir'd it. Also 'your Majesty did vouchsafe to take upon you the 'Charge of both the States, as well Spiritual as 'Temporal, and so purged this Church of all ill 'Service, and placed therein Service to God's Ho-'nour. Further, what great Plague and Dearth 'happened by ill Money this twenty Years last 'past, which within one Year is brought to good 'again, with little Loss of your Subjects? Your 'Majesty prevented also, as well the Attempt in '*Scotland*, made by your common Enemy there, 'as now of late again in *France*; which otherwise, 'if it had not been foreseen, would have turned to 'the no little Peril, and Loss of this your Realm, 'and Subjects thereof. Also your Highness hath 'been Author of good Laws, as appeareth by 'those made, both of the last Parliament, and by 'your other Proclamations since. Further, find-'ing this Realm at your Entrance in Wars, you 'brought it in Peace: All which former Proceed-'ings have been a great Charge unto your Majesty, 'which although the Revenues of the Crown be 'small, yet hath it hitherto only been done of your 'own Charge, as the last Day by the Lord Keeper 'it was declared. And for the last Part, and prin-'cipal Point of all other, your Highness hath 'brought and restored again God's Doctrine into 'this Realm; for which your humble Subjects 'most heartily give Thanks to God, and you, by 'the Mouth of me their appointed Speaker.

'For the second Point, being Time present; 'your Majesty is the Head, and the Body the 'Spiritualty and the Temporalty, which Body is 'to be divided into three Estates, the Lords Spiri-'tual, and the Lords Temporal, and the Com-'mons,

'mons, whose Mouth I am; which by no means 'can prosper, the one without the other; for as any 'Estate divided cannot well continue, so in this; 'and therefore say, *Nosce teipsum*, not minding to 'speak these Words only to you, but to the whole 'Body; for although the Head may lack a Mem-'ber of the Body, and yet continue; yet so the 'Member cannot want the Head, nor yet the 'Head the whole Body, but the Want of the one 'of these last two shall be the Ruin of the other; 'and therefore of Necessity, for the sure Preserva-'tion of the whole, it behoveth them firmly to 'join together; for though your Highness be the 'Head, and therefore the chief Care pertaineth 'to you, yet your Majesty cannot throughly re-'dress the same, without Knowledge of the Faults 'nor yet well understand the whole State, except 'the other Parts of the body join with you, and 'put to their helping Hands. I find in divers Hi-'stories great Commodities grow to Princes, by 'searching out, not only the Wants of their Sub-'jects, but Knowledge of their Talk; whereby 'they better both understand their own Faults, and 'the Flatterers they have about them; which Or-'der the wise and prudent *Marcus Aurelius* used, 'and long Time reigned honourably. The noble 'Conqueror *Alexander*, in the Beginning of his 'Reign, used the same; but leaving that Order, 'and having no Regard to his living, was destroy'd; 'which like Example was seen by that notable and 'valiant Warrior *Julius Cæsar*. And being en-'couraged by these like Examples, and others, to 'enter into some Abuses used in this Realm, I will 'only speak of three, being all three notable Mon-'sters, Necessity, Ignorance, and Error. Neces-'sity is grown amongst ourselves, so that no man 'is contented with his Degree, though he hath 'never so much; but where she is (as the Proverb 'saith) she hath no Law; for how now be all 'Schools, Benefices, and other like Rooms fur-'nished, and yet those for Schools so few, that I 'dare say a hundred Schools want in *England*, 'which,

Queen Elizabeth's 1562.

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'which before this Time have been. And if in 'every School there had been but an hundred Scho-'lars, yet that had been ten thousand; so that 'now I doubt whether there be so many learned 'Men in *England*, as the Number wants of these 'Scholars.

'The second Monster is her Daughter Igno-'rance; for want of ten thousand Scholars, which 'these Schools were the bringers up of, and want 'of good School-masters, bringeth Ignorance; 'but the Occasion of these two Monsters, is for 'want of Livings and Preferments; for Covet-'ousness hath gotten the Livings, as by Impropria-'tions, which is a Decay of Learning. For by it 'the Tree of Knowledge groweth downwards, and 'not upwards, as it was first meant and made for; 'and groweth thereby greatly to the Dishonour 'both of God and this Commonwealth. The U-'niversities are decayed, and great Market Towns 'and others, without either School or Preacher; 'for the poor Vicar hath but only twenty Pound, 'and the rest, being no small Sum, is Impropri-'ate; and so thereby no Preacher there, but the 'People being trained up and led in Blindness, for 'want of Instructions, become obstinate. And 'therefore to see to it, and that Impropriations 'may be redress'd notwithstanding the Laws al-'ready made.

'The third Monster is Error, a Serpent with 'many Heads, many evil Opinions, and much 'evil Life, as Pelagians, Libertines, Papists, and 'such others, leaving God's Commandments, to 'follow their own Traditions, Affections and 'Minds. But if the Papist be, as indeed he is, in 'Error, let us seek the Redress thereof; for that 'the Poor and Ignorant be thereby abused. Until 'which Redress be had, you nor your Realm, nei-'ther at home nor abroad, shall ever be well served 'of such People, which be so divided; and there-'fore speedily look to it, and weed out this Wick-'edness and Error within these our Days, which 'is too much known now adays; for if your 'Godly

Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

'Godly Proclamations were not so soon forgotten, 'they would be amended. In the Country I heard 'tell, but since I came hither, walking in the 'Streets, I have heard oftentimes more Oaths than 'Words; a pitiful hearing! for if the *Ægyptians*, 'by whose Laws the People lost their Hands, and 'amongst the Barbarians lost their Lives, for 'swearing, and especially if it were a Lie: If it 'were so punished amongst them, being Infidels, 'what shall there be no Punishment amongst us 'being Christians? Is Truth further from us pro-'fessing the Name of *Christ*, and being Christians, 'than from them being Infidels? But even as '*Tantalus* was plagued, so are we; for although 'he had Apples even hanging at His mouth, yet 'could he not eat any of them; and having 'a River of Water even as it were running by his 'Lips, yet could he not drink, but died for Hun-'ger and Thirst: Even so are we plagued; for 'having God's Word, and his Name ever in our 'Mouths, yet we live as Infidels, or as them that 'are furthest from the same; and so having e-'nough, there is Scarcity. And that we may a-'void this Blasphemy, and the other Monsters, 'your humble Subjects desire your Highness to see 'to the lamentable Estate of this Commonwealth, 'and the Redress of the same.

'Having perused Times past and Times present, 'let us go to, and well remember the Time to 'come. For *Cato* saith, a Thing well begun 'shall be well ended; so then followeth of a good 'Beginning a good Ending. For that noble Cap-'tain *Hanibal*, environ'd with his Enemies, in a 'strange Country, sounded his Trumpet to Coun-'cil, and thereby prospered. So your Majesty 'hath now called the Prelates, Nobles, and Com-'mons, to Council, for Surety of the Realm. We 'now so therefore assembled, as diligent in our 'Calling, have thought good to move your Ma-'jesty, with the Assent of this Assembly, to build 'a strong Fort for the Surety of the Realm, to the 'repulsing of your Enemies abroad; which must

'be

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'be ſet upon firm Ground, and ſtedfaſt, having 'two Gates, one commonly open, the other as a 'Poſtern, with two Watchmen at either of them, 'one Governor, one Lieutenant, four Soldiers, 'and no good Thing there wanting. The ſame 'to be named, the Fear of God; the Governor 'thereof to be God, your Majeſty the Lieute-'nant, the Stones the Hearts of faithful People, the 'two Watchmen at the open Gate to be call'd 'Knowledge and Virtue, the other two at the 'Poſtern to be call'd Mercy and Truth; all being 'Spiritual Miniſters.

'This Fort is invincible, if every Man will fear 'God; for all Governors reign and govern by the 'two Watchmen, Knowledge and Virtue; and 'if you, being the Lieutenant, ſee Juſtice with 'Prudence her Siſter executed, you ſhall then 'rightly uſe the Office of a Lieutenant; and for 'ſuch as depart out of this Fort, let them be let out 'at the Poſtern by the two Watchmen, Mercy 'and Truth; and then you ſhall be well at home 'and abroad The Charge of this Fort is yours, 'being Lieutenant. By Juſtice your Place is 'ſettled, whereunto Obedience ought to be taught 'and done; which your Majeſty ought to look to. 'And ſo now the Fear of God to be a ſure Fort, 'the Subjects Hearts the Stones, Knowledge, Vir-'tue, Mercy and Truth, the four Watchmen, 'God the Governor, and your Majeſty the Lieu-'tenant is well proved. Therefore to build up-'on this Fort, the Fear of God, is nothing lack-'ing to a happy Life; for by God are all Princes 'appointed. Who put down *Saul?* Who made '*David* King, who ſought only God's Glory and 'ſo proſpered? As did *Joſaphat*, *Joſias*, and *He-'zechias*, and alſo *Ahas*, as long as they ſought 'God's Glory, proſpered; but forgetting God, 'were overthrown: Therefore firſt of all, and 'continually vouchſafe to ſeek God's Glory, and 'his true Honour, and then you ſhall have this 'Fort well built, and by you well governed.

'Further I am to be a Suitor to your Majeſty, 'that

'that when Matters of Importance ſhall ariſe, Queen Elizabeth. 1562.
'whereupon it ſhall be neceſſary to have your 'Highneſs's Opinion, that then I may have free 'Acceſs unto you for the ſame; and the like to the 'Lords of the Upper Houſe.

'Secondly, That in repairing from the Nether 'Houſe to your Majeſty, or the Lords of the Upper Houſe, to declare their Meanings, and I miſtaking on uttering the ſame contrary to their 'Meaning, that then my Fault or Imbecility in 'declaring thereof be not prejudicial to the Houſe, 'but that I may again repair to them, the better to 'underſtand their Meanings, and ſo they to reform 'the ſame.

'Thirdly, That the Aſſembly of the Lower 'Houſe may have frank and free Liberties to ſpeak 'their Minds, without any Controulment, Blame, 'Grudge, Menaces or Diſpleaſure, according to 'the old ancient Order.

'Finally, That the old Privilege of the Houſe 'be obſerved, which is, that they and theirs might 'be at Liberty, frank and free, without Arreſt, 'Moleſtation, Trouble, or other Damage to 'their Bodies, Lands, Goods or Servants, with 'all other their Liberties, during the Time of the 'ſaid Parliament; whereby they may the better 'attend, and do their Duty; all which Privileges 'I deſire may be enrolled, as at other Times it 'hath been accuſtom'd.

'And thus having been tedious unto you with 'my Speech, void of Eloquence, I crave your 'Pardon, and deſire your Majeſty to accept of 'my Heart and good Will, as well at this Time as 'after; and I will pray as I am bounden, for your 'Honour long to reign over us.'

We omit the Lord Keeper's Anſwer, being nothing but what was common on ſuch Occaſions.

It was now that the Oath of *Supremacy* was firſt taken by all the Members of both Houſes; purſuant to an Act of Parliament made in the firſt Year of this Reign.

The

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

The *Journals* of the Lords begin with a Bill, for the good ordering and governing of the Queen's Majesty's Garrison of the Town of *Berwick*. This Frontier-Place being judged very necessary to be taken Care of at that Time. Another Bill passed the House, also, for preventing Horses and Geldings to be carried out of the Realm, into *Scotland*, or elsewhere.

Nothing farther, very material, happened in their Proceedings, till *February* the 20th, when a Bill for granting a Supply was sent up by the Commons. It consisted of a *Subsidy*, two *Fifteenths* and two *Tenths*; which passed the House of Lords on the 23d. This Grant was the same as the former, except that the Tax upon Goods was from three Pounds, when the former was from five. *Cambden* writes, that this large Supply was granted as a Compliment to the Queen, on the happy Turn of Affairs, at that Time *(c)*. 'In Consideration of her 'having reformed the Faith; restored Peace to her 'Kingdoms; rescued *England* and *Scotland* from 'the common Enemy; refined the Coin; rebuilt 'the Navy; provided Ammunition for Sea and 'Land; and in a Word, for the extraordinary 'Care she used in *France*, for the Security of its 'young King, for the Safety of this Kingdom, and 'her Endeavours to regain *Calais*.'

A large Supply granted.

We find, by the *Journal*, that the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* granted each a *Subsidy*, this Time, which were confirmed by Parliament.

On the 3d Day of *March* a Bill passed the House of Lords, with some Provisoes added thereto, by them, *For the Assurance of the Queen's Majesty's Royal Power, over all States and Subjects, within her Dominions*. This Act stands the first amongst our printed

(c) *Cambden* in *Kennet*, p. 591.

Our Author proceeds to acquaint his Readers, 'That a *Fifteenth* and a *Tenth*, is a certain Tax, in every City, Burrough and Town; not upon every Man, in particular, but a general Sum, in Proportion to the Fifteenth of the computed Wealth of the respective Places. A Subsidy is what is imposed on every single Person, as they are assessed by Pole, according to the Value of their Goods and Lands. But, he adds, neither one nor other of these Taxes are laid but by Act of Parliament.

printed Statutes of this Year; 'By which, it was 'High Treason for any Man to assert three Times 'by Writing, Word or Deed, the Authority of 'any foreign Prince, Prelate or State, in Spiritual 'Matters in *England*, or any other of the Queen's 'Dominions. Or to refuse the Oath of Supremacy 'to the Queen in Matters Spiritual, or over Per-'sons Ecclesiastical, after it had been twice tender-'ed. Yet so, as that they should not fall under 'an Attainder, nor forfeit their Goods and Chatels; 'nor that this Oath should be exacted from any 'Peer of the Realm, or any Person of eminent 'Quality, whose Allegiance the Queen did not in 'the least question; nor, indeed, of any but such 'who were, had been, or should be, in Holy Or-'ders; or did then bear, or should bear, some Ec-'clesiastical Office. Or that, after Warning given, 'should refuse to observe the Rights and Ceremo-'nies of the Church of *England*; or should dis-'honour the same in Public, either by Word or 'Deed; or should celebrate or hear Mass, *&c.*' Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

To the Passing of this Bill there was only some small Opposition; the Catholic Bishops being now removed, but one Lay-Lord, in the whole House, had the Courage to speak against it. This was Lord Viscount *Montague*, mentioned before *(e)*. In the Lower House, one Mr. *Atkinson*, a Student of the *Inner-Temple*, expressed the same Zeal for the Catholic Cause. Their Speeches are published in Mr. *Strype's* Annals, *&c.* from the Manuscript of the famous Martyrologist, *Foxe*; and must find a Place, also, in these Enquires, with this Observation of *Strype's* upon them, 'That the Plea of Con-'science and gentle Usage, toward such as differ in 'Judgment, are Arguments made use of now in the 'Behalf of *Papists*; which were but of small Avail, 'in the last Reign, when they were in Power.'

First Lord *Montague*.

'THE Prince or Commonwealth that will 'make a new Law, ought to consider 'three

Lord Montague's Speech against the Queen's Supremacy.

(e) Sir *Anthony Brown*, advanced to the Peerage by Queen *Mary*.

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'three Things: The *First*, That the ſame Law 'be neceſſary: The *Second*, That it be juſt and 'reaſonable: The *Third*, That it be poſſible and 'commodious, apt and fit to be put in Execution. 'Unto theſe three Qualities may be reduced all o-'ther that are requiſite, to the End the Law ſhould 'be good. Now, it is to be ſeen, if theſe three 'Qualities be in the Law, that certain do pretend, 'and would have to be made in this Parliament a-'gainſt the Papiſts, as they call them. For the 'which preſuppoſe, that my Intent is not to per-'ſuade that the Religion which now is obſerved in '*England* is either falſe or ſchiſmatical; but to en-'treat only, if it be good, that a Law be made, 'whereby it ſhall be commanded, under Pain of 'Death, that the Papiſts, with Oath, confeſs the 'Doctrine of the Proteſtants to be true and evange-'lical. As for the firſt, I ſay, That this Law that 'is pretended is not neceſſary; foraſmuch as the 'Catholicks of this Realm diſturb not, nor hinder 'the publick Affairs of the Realm, neither Spiritual 'nor Temporal. They diſpute not, they preach 'not, they diſobey not the Queen, they cauſe no 'Trouble nor Tumults among the People. So 'that no Man can ſay, that thereby the Realm 'doth receive any Hurt or Damage by them. 'They have brought into the Realm no Novelties 'in Doctrine and Religion.

'This being true and evident, as it is indeed, 'there is no Neceſſity why any new Law ſhould 'be made againſt them. And where there is no 'Sore nor Grief, Medicines are ſuperfluous, and 'alſo hurtful and dangerous.

'As concerning the ſecond, I ſay, That this Law 'that is pretended, is neither juſt nor reaſonable, 'nor cannot be, nor deſerveth to be called, or have 'the Name of *Law*, when it is made. For it 'ſhall be contrary and repugnant unto all Laws of 'Men, Natural and Civil. I meddle not with 'God's Laws; for I have above ſaid, That in 'this Diſcourſe I do not pretend to entreat of the

'Verity

'Verity and Truth of Religion. But leaving that till Time fit and convenient, I do entreat, Whether it be just to make this penal Statute to force the Subjects of this Realm to receive and believe the Religion of the Protestants, upon Pain of Death. This, I say, is a Thing most unjust. For that it is repugnant to the Law of Nature and all Civil Laws. The Reason is, for that naturally no Man can, or ought to be constrained, to take for certain that that he holdeth to be uncertain. For this repugneth to the natural Liberty of Man's Understanding. For Understanding may be persuaded, but not forced. Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

'The Doctrine of the Protestants doth repugn unto all the Ecclesiastical State of *England* that were present at the last Parliament, and holdeth Contradiction with all Provinces of *Christendom*. It repugneth to all the Doctrine of all the Parliaments past, and all general Councils. With these Contradictions there is no Protestant, if he be a Man of any Understanding or Judgment, but will confess that it is doubtful and uncertain; seeing that of those Things that appear not to our Senses, there ariseth no Doubt nor Uncertainty, but of the Opinions of Men. And if he will say 'tis the Catholick Doctrine; therefore the Question is, How this Word can be understood? which is the Work of Understanding, and is reduced and brought to Opinions. And when there be many Opinions of the one Side and the other, it is Reason, that the Thing be doubtful, 'till all Opinions come to one: And that there be one Faith, one God, and one Trinity.

'Now, to turn to my Purpose, I say, That since the Doctrine of Protestants is so uncertain, (leaving to call it false) there is no Reason nor Justice, that doth permit or suffer, that Men should be forced to take it for certain, true and sure, and affirm the same. It is sufficient, and enough for Protestants to keep Possession of the Churches, and the Authority to preach and ex-

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'communicate, not to seek to force and strain Men 'to do or believe by Compulsion what they be- 'lieve not; and not to swear, and to make God 'Witness of their Lie.———

Mr. *Strype* observes, hereupon, by the Way, how much this Bill is (whether wilfully or ignorantly) represented by this Peer. For the Oath therein required to be taken, is not to swear to the Truth of the Protestant Religion, and the Doctrine thereof, (nor is there the least Mention made of Religion in the whole Act) but only that no foreign Bishop (chiefly meaning the Bishop of *Rome*) hath any Power or Authority in the Queen's Realms and Dominions. Nor was this Oath to be imposed upon all the Queen's Subjects universally; but only such as should enter into Holy Orders, or took any eminent Places and Offices upon them; which if they declined to do, and meddled not in the Government, no such Oath was required of them. And there is an express Proviso, that none shall be compelled to take it, but some Ecclesiastical Persons, that gave just Grounds of Jealousy to the State. And besides, this Act was found necessary for the Security of the Queen and her Government, (which was at this Time in no small Danger) as the Tittle of the Act ran, *For the Assurance of the Queen's Power over all her States and Subjects:* And the Preamble of the Act mentioned *the Dangers by reason of the Fauters of the usurped Power of the See of* Rome, *at this Time grown to marvellous Outrage and licentious Boldness.*———After this Caution he goes on with this Lord's Speech.

'It is enough for them, [the Protestants] and 'they might hold themselves content, that there is 'no Impediment or Let made by the Catholicks, 'but that they may persuade the People so much as 'they list, and teach and preach their Doctrine.

'As touching the Third, that is, Whether this 'Statute should be possible, meet and convenient, 'to be put in Execution: I say, That on what is 'said

'said in the second Chapter of *Justice*, dependeth and is contained the Understanding of this Third, touching the Commodity and Possibility. For it is an easy Thing to understand, that a Thing so unjustly, and so contrary to all Reason and Liberty of Man, cannot be put in Execution, but with great Incommodity and Difficulty. For what Man is there so without Courage and Stomach, or void of all Honour, that can consent or agree to receive an Opinion and new Religion by Force and Compulsion; or will swear, that he thinketh the contrary to that he thinketh. To be still and dissemble may be born and suffered for a Time; to keep his Reckoning with God alone; but to be compelled to lie and to swear, or else to die therefore, are Things that no Man ought to suffer and endure. And it is to be feared, rather than to die, they will seek how to defend themselves: Whereby should ensue the contrary of what every good Prince and well-advised Commonwealth ought to seek and pretend, that is, to keep their Kingdom and Government in Peace. Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'So that this Law and Statute that is pretended, since it is not necessary for Men, without they leave Quietness and Peace; nor just and reasonable, seeing it forceth Men to hold for certain and true that they should hold for doubtful and false; and being incommodious and impossible to be put in Execution, for the Alterations that may ensue of great Unjustice; I conclude, that by no Means any such Law ought to be made and enacted.

'And because some said, This need not be feared, nor ought any thing to be a Stop; because the greater Part of the Assembly of the Lords and the Higher House, was of the Mind and Opinion, that the Law ought to be made, including in the same Assembly the *Bishops* that are twenty-five: I answer, That they neither can, nor ought to have to do in this Matter, because they are as Party, and therefore cannot be Judges. And that they have Party, and have Interest in this Matter, it cannot be denied; since, *ipso facto*, they

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'have diſpoſſeſſed the Catholick Biſhops of their 'Churches, under this Occaſion and Colour, to 'bring into the Realm better Doctrine. Beſides all 'this, neither the Law nor the Goſpel, nor other 'Civil Law doth ſuffer Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to 'have more than the Judgment and Examination 'of the Doctrine and Excommunications. And, 'according to this, it belongeth not to the Biſhops, 'but only to declare and pronounce the Doctrine 'of the Papiſts, to be falſe, as they have done; and 'to excommunicate ſuch as follow the ſame. To 'appoint afterward the Temporal Penalties of 'Confiſcation, Baniſhment or Death; this apper-'taineth not to them, but to the Secular Judge; 'who, according to the Neceſſity of the Common-'wealth, for Peace and Quietneſs of the ſame, 'may execute and proceed againſt ſome excommu-'nicate Perſons with more or leſs Rigour after, as 'he ſhall think good.

'It ſhall be alſo very juſt, reaſonable and conve-'nient for the Service of the Queen, that the Lords 'of the Realm alone, without the Biſhops, do con-'ſider, if it be meet and convenient for the Wealth 'of the Realm, to make this Statute and Law ſo 'rigorous; or whether that that is made already 'be ſufficient; or whether it be meet and conve-'nient (to take away all Inconveniences and Da-'mages that may ariſe of thoſe Diverſities and No-'velties in Religion) to command the Biſhops all, 'as well Papiſtical as Proteſtants, to find the Means 'to try the Matter (afore diſputed here) within the 'Realm, or in the general Council. The which 'ſeemeth ſhould be much more eaſy, more ſure, 'and more convenient.

'And, furthermore, ſince it belongeth to the 'ſaid Lords, not to endanger their Lives and Goods, 'if any War ſhould happen within the Realm, or 'with their Neighbours; let them therefore take 'good Heed, and not ſuffer themſelves to be led 'by ſuch Men that are full of Affection and Paſ-'ſions, and that look to wax mighty, and of Power,

'by

'by the Confiscation, Spoil and Ruin of the Houses of noble and ancient Men.' Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

To this Speech made in the House of Lords, We shall subjoin another Oration in the House of Commons, against the said Bill of the Oath of *Supremacy* by Mr *Atkinson*, aforesaid, spoken the 10th Day of *March*; but it is not mentioned in the *Journals*.

Right Honourable,

'YOU have heard the Effect of this Bill, containing in itself, that all those that shall by any open Act, maintain any foreign Jurisdiction, or shall refuse the Oath, which is likewise for the abolishing of all foreign Power; that such Offenders shall, for the first Offence, incur the Danger of *Premunire*; and if they eftsones refuse again, then to be judged as in Case of High Treason. Whether any foreign Power be lawful to be received within this Realm, or whether in Conscience a Man ought to take this Oath, that Matter I purpose not now to dispute; for that is already put out of Question by Consent of the whole Realm, in High Court of Parliament, in the first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady that now is; against which it shall not become me to reason. But, *Marrie*, whether an Offence committed against that Statute be so sharply to be punished as this Bill here required, that is the Question that we now have in Hand. Wherein I think that the Punishment already devised is sufficient; that the Punishment limited in this Bill is too rigorous; and that though this Act went forward, yet no Benefit could thereof grow to the Commonwealth. Mr Atkinson's Speech against the Oath of Supremacy.

'If the Offence were Treason, as it was said this other Day, in the House, that is was; and that the Offenders therein were Traytors even by the common Laws of the Realm, as Men that sought to take the Crown from the King, and give it the Pope, then would I think no Punishment too little for it: And Pity it were, that e-

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'ven for the first Offence it was not made Death. 'Howbeit, if it may be proved unto you, that the 'Maintenance of Foreign Jurisdiction was not by 'the Laws ever accounted Treason; then I trust 'there will no good Man think, but that the Of- 'fence being not so great, the Punishment ought 'not to be so great neither. I would agree, That 'the ancient Writers of the Law, as both *Bracton* 'and *Briton* have, in their Writings, called the 'King *God's Vicar in Earth:* And so I assent to 'that that *Skipwith* saith, That there is the Deanry 'of *Pickering* in *Ireland* belonging to the Archbi- 'shop of *Deviling*, [i. e. *Dublin*] and that it is of 'this Condition, That if an *Englishman* be made 'Archbishop, that then he shall have the Deanry as 'his free Chapel; and if an *Irishman*, then the 'King. His Reason is, *Quia Reges sacro Oleo uncti 'Spiritualis Jurisdictionis sunt capaces*, *i. e.* Because 'the Sacred Majesty of a King anointed with Holy 'Oil, hath Capacity of Spiritual Jurisdiction. I 'likewise agree to the Saying of *Brian*, where he 'saith, That a great Doctor of Law once told 'him, That a Priest, by Prescription, might be im- 'pleaded in the King's Temporal Court, *Quia Rex 'est Persona mixta ex Sacerdotibus & Laicis: i. e.* 'Because the Person of a King is mixt of Priest- 'hood and Laity.

'Of all which we may gather, That by the 'Common Laws the King may have the Tem- 'poral Profits of a Spiritual Promotion, and also 'implead a Spiritual Person in his Temporal Court. 'All which, notwithstanding, I am sure no Autho- 'rity can be shewed to prove, that the affirming 'that the Pope ought to have Jurisdiction in these 'or other like Matters, or that the Jurisdiction of 'them ought not to appertain to the King, was ne- 'ver yet accompted Treason.

'And therefore suppose that the King had brought 'a *Quare Impedit* against a Spiritual Person, (which 'is a Plea merely Temporal, determinable in the 'Temporal Court) and that the Spiritual Person 'had thought to appeal to *Rome* in Stay of the Judgment;

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'Judgment; had this been Treaſon? Nay, ſurely, though without ſome open Act ſhewing the ſame, it was never yet taken to be Treaſon; nor was it ever yet ſeen, that a Man in ſuch a Caſe was bound to diſcover his Conſcience upon his Oath. But to go further, ſuppoſe he had expreſly ſaid before Witneſs, that he would appeal to *Rome*; nay, ſuppoſe he had appealed to *Rome* indeed; had this been Treaſon? Nay, it was never yet but *Premunire*; and not *Premunire* neither, till the Statute of the 27th of *Edward* the Third made it ſo. But was this an Offence againſt the King's Crown and Dignity? But ſo are many Offences that are not Treaſon; and are not, as he ſaid, *Crimina læſæ Majeſtatis*, but *Crimina minutæ Majeſtatis*.

'If then to affirm, that the Pope ought to have Juriſdiction in a Temporal Matter, were not Treaſon; much leſs were it Treaſon to affirm the ſame in Spiritual Matters: As to ſay, that the Conſecration of Archbiſhops belonged to him, or that the Order of Service and Sacraments ought to be directed by the See Apoſtolick. What the Judges have ſaid in our Law in the Behalf of the Pope, that ſpare I here for Duty's Sake to ſpeak of. I am ſure it was more than I have hitherto ſaid: And yet were they, I believe, as ſkillful in knowing what Treaſon was, and as loth to offend therein, as was the Gentleman that went about with ſo many Reaſons to prove it Treaſon; nor I doubt not, but even at thoſe Times when Princes ſuffered this Offence to remain unpuniſhed, and when the Subjects offended in it, that yet they had as great a Care to maintain the Royal Dignity of the Crown; and were otherwiſe as void of traiterous Hearts, as thoſe that think themſelves beſt Subjects.

'And therefore we read, that in the Time of *Edward* the Firſt, the Pope willed the King to take Peace with *Scotland*, and he made him Anſwer, *That touching his Temporalities, he knew no Peer in his Realm.* And the like Letters was ſent

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'in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth; and *Humfrey*, 'then Duke of *Glouceſter*, hurled them in the Fire. 'And, whoſoever readeth the Statute of *Premunire* 'made in the 16th Year of *Richard* the Second, 'ſhall find that all the Lords, both Spiritual and 'Temporal, ſaid, *That they would ſtick with the* 'King in the Maintenance of his Crown and Digni-'ty. And they were therefore ſeverally examined 'to the Intent that their Opinion might be known. 'If then it hath been proved, that that Offence hath 'not been Treaſon, nor that the Offenders therein 'have not otherwiſe born traiterous Hearts; I truſt, 'that the Offence being not ſo great, you will not 'without Cauſe go about to encreaſe the Puniſh-'ment.

'Let us therefore never go about to aggrieve the 'Matter, or make it worſe than it is; but let us 'conſider it in ſuch Sort, as it is indeed; that is, an 'Offence in Religion, and an Offence againſt the 'Statute made in the firſt Year of the Queen's Ma-'jeſty. And then, whether ſuch an Offence be to 'be puniſhed by Death, either for the Preſervation 'of the Common Peace, or elſe by the expreſs 'Laws of God, that Matter falleth further in Con-'ſultation.

'As for the Scripture, I muſt confeſs myſelf ig-'norant in them, as the Thing that is not my Pro-'feſſion, nor in which I have been exerciſed: Yet 'thus much have I heard the Preachers ſay, that 'are now, That though, in the old Law, Idolatry 'was puniſhed with Death; yet ſince the Coming 'of Chriſt (who came to win the World by Peace 'and bade *Put up the Sword*,) the greateſt Puniſh-'ment that hath been taught by the Apoſtles in caſe 'of Religion, hath been by Excommunication. 'For Religion, they ſay, muſt ſink in by Perſuaſi-'on; it cannot be preſſed in by Violence. And 'therefore they called the Act of the Six Articles, 'that was made the 31ſt of King *Henry* the Eighth, '*The Whip with the Six Laſhes*. And as for the 'Dealings in Queen *Mary*'s Days, they much miſ-'liked them; calling the Biſhops *Blood-ſuckers*, and

'bade

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'bade *Fie on these Tormenters, that delighted in no-*
'*thing else but in the Death of Innocents; that threa-*
'*tened the whole Realm with their Fire and Faggots;*
'*Murtherers; that they were worse than* Caiaphas, *worse than* Judas, *worse than the Traytors*
'*that put* Christ *to Death.* And that with such
'Vehemency and Stomach, as I assure you I mar-
'vel, how it can possibly come to pass, that they
'should now desire to establish that as a Law, which
'they thought then so far unlawful.

'And indeed many a Solemn Clerk and Holy
'Father hath there been in the Church, that have
'much misliked that cruel Handling; and have
'wished rather the Opinions of the Men to be taken
'away than the Men themselves; and would have
'them convinced *Magis Verbo quam Vi, i. e.* Ra-
'ther by the Word than by the Sword. Howbeit,
'what was the Cause, why in all Christian Realms
'Offenders in Religion were punished by Death:
'And further, how far the Punishment that is here
'devised, exceedeth that in Rigour and Cruelty:
'And lastly, how Offenders in this case of Religi-
'on ought not to be punished by the one, nor by
'the other; that Matter shall I make so plain and
'so evident unto you, that I trust no charitable
'Man will consent to the passing of this Bill.

'*First*, As for *Excommunication*, that was thought
'so easy a Punishment, that it was the Thing that
'they gladly would have wished for. For what
'could please them better that had already forsaken
'the true Faith, than to be punished from the Com-
'pany of all those that believe otherwise than them-
'selves? Therefore was Fining and Ransoming
'devised against the *Manichees*. But that would
'not serve; for either had they nothing to lose, or
'else were willing to lose that they had. Then
'was it further devised and enacted, That they
'should be imprisoned. But Imprisonment would
'not help neither. For the Number of them was
'such as the Prisons could not hold them; and the
'Keepers many Times were corrupted. Then was
'Banishment devised; but that was worst of all o-
'ther.

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

ther. For then would they, by their Letters, openly defame those, by whom, for their Naughtiness they had received any Damage. And further, not keeping their Conscience to themselves, ceased not by preaching in Woods and Cellars, by dealing in Hugger-Mugger seditious Books of their own making, keeping of Midnight-Lectures, making of Enterludes and Ballads, to allure other silly Souls to their Naughtiness; so far forth that if better Remedy had not been provided, this Canker would have crept over the whole Body of *Christendom*. Nor were they so contented neither, but fell to open Voilence, as robbing and spoiling of Churches, and taking other Mens Goods from them. Insomuch that the Stories of the Church make mention, That when the *Macedonians* and the *Catholicks* should come before the Deputy of *Philippus*, for hearing of their Controversy; and that the Throng was great, the *Macedonians* fell in Hand with them, and said, That by the Number of them it should seem rather that they came to fight with them than to dispute; and therewith drew their Weapons upon them, and slew them to the Number of three thousand. For which Violence of theirs, it was ordained, by Consent through *Christendom*, That Violence should be offered them again. And their Offence for common Quietness Sake, and for the Peace of the Church, punished in this Sort: That is to say, That if it were by open Witness proved, that any had offended, that yet he might abjure for the first Offence, if he would; and upon Penance and Repentance made, be received into the Church again. But if he eftsones fell in Relapse, then he should be left to the Secular Hands.

'Which Punishment, as it was, was yet much more easy, than that which is here devised. For there you see, unless he had been convinced by Witness for some open Fact done, he was without Danger of the Law. But here, though he intended to live under a Law, and keep his Conscience

'science to himself, yet will we grope him, and see what secretly lieth in his Breast: And to the Intent he shall not dally with us, we offer him an Oath, which many a Man shall take that understandeth not what it meaneth. There you see the first Offence was not punished; but he had Leisure to bethink him and mend. But here the very first Offence is punished; and by what Punishment? Forsooth, by Judgment of *Premunire*, which is Loss of Lands and Goods, his Body in Prison at the Queen's Will and Pleasure; and yet he is in no great Surety of his Life neither. For if any Man, upon Displeasure, should kill him, his Friends might well lament his Death, but they could not punish it. For a Man attainted in *Premunire*, is *perdie* out of the Protection of the King, and of the Laws. Yea, and besides all this, not a Man dare give him his Alms, lest he should be an Aider and Maintainer within the Compass of this Statute *(a.)* Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

'Therefore, methinks, the Law was a great deal better, and surely much more profitable for the Commonwealth, that was made in the first Year of the Queen's Majesty. For there we see the first Offence is not so grievously punished. And if every Ecclesiastical Person, every Judge and other Officer, every one that is of the Queen's Fee, every Man that shall sue Livery, all Scholars that are in the University, be sworn, (as they must be by the same Statute) what Mischief can there be wrought, but it shall be espied and quenched? Is it not, think you, an easier Way to win Men (for win them we must, if we shall do well) to leave a Gap for him open to Promotion, if he embrace these Proceedings, than, if he refuse them, to take that he hath from him? Is it not a sufficient Punishment for him, that no Man shall, by his Wit and Learning, so long as he continueth that Opinion, bear any Office, or have 'any

(a) There is a Proviso in this Statute against this Consequence of *Premunire*, and so there is another against the former. *Strype.*

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'any Countenance in this Commonwealth? 'What Better Proof can you have of the Good-'neſs of the Law, that you ſee, ſince that Time, 'no great Breach of the Law; no ſeditious Con-'gregations, no Tumult, but the Common Peace 'well kept, and every Man liveth under a Law 'without Diſturbance of the Queen's Proceedings? 'So that that Puniſhment being ſufficient, it is in 'vain to deſire a greater to keep them under.

'Let us follow the Example of the Queen's Ma-'jeſty; whoſe Gracious Highneſs hath with ſuch 'Clemency ruled us, and ſo tempered her Juſtice 'with Mercy, as I ween never Prince ſince the 'Conqueſt (I ſpeak it without Flattery) hath for 'the Time reigned over us in a quieter Peace, with 'more Love and leſs Exaction. The Honour be 'to her gracious Majeſty, and thoſe good Counſel-'lors that have had that Statute in Hand.

'But, to go on; ſuppoſe it were paſſed for a 'Law, what great Good could we reckon ſhould 'grow to the Commonwealth by it? You will 'ſay, a Sort of ſtubborn Papiſts ſhould be rid out of 'the Way; who, if they lived, would be Cauſers 'of Sedition; and Sedition muſt needs be the 'Cauſe of Deſolation. Surely, if the whole Num-'ber, that think againſt the Oath in their Con-'ſcience, ſhould refuſe the Oath, and for the Of-'fence be executed: the Realm could not chuſe but 'be much weakened, and a great deal the leſs able 'to defend itſelf. We may partly ſee it by the U-'niverſities, that what with the one Side and the 'other, hath been ſo ſhaken for Religion, that 'Learning is almoſt quite decayed in them. And if 'Proviſion be not made, all like to come to a bar-'barous Ignorance.

'But ſuppoſe you that the greateſt Part will re-'fuſe the Oath? Think you that all that take it, 'will upon the taking of it change their Conſci-'ences? Nay, many a falſe Shrew there is, that 'will lay his Hand to the Book, when his Heart 'ſhall be far off. Of this hath this Houſe full Ex-'perience. For in the Bill of conveying over of

'Horſes,

'Horſes, there was a Clauſe, that whoſoever would 'ſwear that it was for his neceſſary Travel, it was 'lawful. And becauſe Men ſticked not at ſuch a 'Trifle to forſwear themſelves, that Clauſe was re-'pealed. And upon like Conſideration, by the 'grave Advice of this Houſe, was the Oath left out 'of the Subſidy-Book. If Men for ſuch Trifles 'will forſwear themſelves, it cannot chuſe but be 'perillous, when their Goods, Lands, Liberties and 'Lives, ſhall depend upon it. And namely upon 'a Matter, whereof for the moſt Part they have no 'Knowledge; but all one to them, whether it be 'ſo, or otherwiſe. And ſo proteſting that to be 'in their Conſciences, whereof they ſtand in Doubt, 'they ſhall wilfully forſwear themſelves. Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'And if Men were ſeditious before, now will 'they become ten Times more ſeditious. Neither 'ſhall the Queen's Majeſty be ever a whit the *Surer*, 'which is the Title, and as it ſhould ſeem the only 'Meaning of this Bill. For if any were rebellious 'before, now will his Heart become more rebelli-'ous; for that he is enforced to Perjury: And 'that Miſchief will ſecretly keep in his Mind, and 'ſhew it then, when he thinketh it will do moſt 'Harm. Or elſe, if he be not thus wickedly diſ-'poſed, then will he linger on in Deſpair, and with 'Violence at the laſt ſeek to deſtroy himſelf, which 'were too lamentable to hear of: And we the 'Cauſe of all this Miſchief.

'Let us therefore, for the Honour of God, leave 'all Malice, and notwithſtanding Religion, let us 'love together. For it is no Point of Religion, 'one to hate another. Let us make an End of 'Diviſion, for fear leſt our Enemies, who are 'mighty, and now in the Field, might, peradven-'ture, finding us at Diſſention among ourſelves, 'the eaſilier vanquiſh us. Whereas, if we can a-'gree and love together, there ſhall be no Doubt, 'but we ſhall put them now to the worſt, whom 'we have often vanquiſhed before. Let us do as 'the good Mother did before *Solomon*, who when 'ſhe had Contention before the wiſe King for her

'own

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'own Child with the common Harlot, and that 'the Matter went so hard, that he could not tell to 'whom to give it, but thought to divide it; the ten- 'der Love of the Mother, considering that the 'Child's Division should be the Child's Destructi- 'on, could not suffer that, but was content to 'yield up, and give away her Interest. So let us, 'for the Love of God, forget and forgive all Griefs 'for the Commonwealth's Sake, and let us love 'one another: For of shall no Division work the 'Desolation of our Kingdom.

'And when we have done all, to this we must 'come at last. We see in *Germany*, where after so 'long Contention, and so great Destruction and 'Waste of their Country, at last they are come to 'this Point; that the Papist and Protestant can now 'quietly talk together, and never fall out about the 'Matter. I beseech you, therefore, Right Honou- 'rable, that you will well remember the Trust that 'your Country putteth in you; and since you 'have the Sword in your Hand to strike, be well 'ware whom you strike. For some shall you 'strike that are your near Friends, some your 'Kinsmen, but all your Countrymen, and even 'Christians. And tho' you may like these Doings, 'yet may it be that your Heirs after you may mis- 'like them; and then farewel your Name and 'Worship. Remember that Men that offend this 'Way, offend not as Murtherers and Thieves do; 'that is, of Malice and wicked Intent, but through 'Conscience and Zeal, at leastways through Opi- 'nion of Religion. And if it shall happen them to 'die in the wrong Opinion, then shall we not only 'destroy the Bodies, of which there is no small 'Force, but their Souls; which is a Loss that can 'never be recovered. And if they should do it a- 'gainst their Consciences, to save their Lives, and 'seem, peradventure, in Doubt of the Matter; then 'should they fall unto Perjury, and we become 'Causers of it. And sith they keep their Consci- 'ences to themselves, and live under a Law, why 'are they to be punished by so sharp a Law? And

'though some peradventure have offended you, yet do not for their Sakes punish the rest, who never offended you; but rather for the others Sakes, who are the greater Number, forgive all. Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'Follow the Example of the good Mother in *Solomon*, or rather the Example of the Queen's Majesty, whom I pray God may long reign over us, and her Issue after her.'

In Answer to these, and such like Speeches against the Bill, Mr. *Strype* gives us an Argument of some other Member unknown, well skilled in the Laws, in favour of it and against the former Reasons and Considerations. A Copy of it came into the Hands of Archbishop *Parker*, who sent it to *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*. And from that very Copy Mr. *Strype* transcrib'd the Tenor of it: *Viz.*

An Argument for the Bill.

'IN the Time of King *Edward* III. One should have been hanged, drawn and quartered, for publishing an Excommunication, directed from the Bishop of *Rome* against one of the King's Subjects. But at the Entreaty of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer, his Life was pardoned: Notwithstanding, he was abjured the Realm. If ratifying Part of the Pope's Authority was so punished, the Consenting to the whole must of Necessity be High Treason.

'In the Statute of 25 *Ed.* III. *de Proditionibus. Cap.* 2 *do.* If a Man be adherent to the Enemies of the King in his Realm, finding them Aid and Comfort in the Realm, or any other Place, it was High Treason: But to be sworn to the Pope, being the Queen's Enemy, and [the Party] so remain, and will not refuse the Oath to him, nor swear to the Queen, is to comfort the Queen's Enemies. Therefore High Treason.

'In the 12 *H.* VII. *Fineux*, Chief Justice, thus: As in Spiritual Matters towards God, so it is in Temporal Matters towards the Prince. And therefore at the Sheriffs Turn every Subject ought to be present to learn his Duty. But in Spiritual Mat-

'ters,

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'ters, not to affirm, maintain, and uphold God; 'and all Things touching the Subſtance of Religi-'on, with Heart, Mind and Power, is horrible 'Hereſy: So, not to maintain the Prince, his 'Stile, the Royal Dignity of the Crown with Heart, 'Mind and Power, is High Treaſon. But he that 'refuſeth to ſwear to the Prince doth ſo, *&c.* 'Therefore he is a Traitor.

'1 *Hen.* VII. *Huſſey* (Chief Juſtice in the Time 'of *Edw.* IV.) ſaid, a Legate was at *Calais*, from 'the Pope, for to have the King's ſafe Conduct to 'come into the Realm. And then in open Coun-'cil before the Lords and Juſtices, it was demanded, 'What ſhould be done? Who anſwered, That 'they would ſend unto the Legate; and if he 'would ſwear, That he had brought nothing with 'him in Derogation to the King and of his Crown, 'that he ſhould have Licence, or otherwiſe, not. 'And the Biſhop of *Ely* cauſed the Pope's Legate 'to ſwear, That he had nothing that ſhould be 'prejudicial to the King and his Crown: And then 'he entered. If a Stranger was compelled for to 'ſwear for the Safeguard of the Prince before his 'Entry into the Realm, much more a natural-born 'Subject ſhould not live in the Realm, except he 'would be ſworn for the Safeguard of the Prince, 'and Dignity of the Crown.

'*Prædict. Anno*, Huſſey *prædict.* ſaid, That in 'the Time of *Edward* I. the Pope ſent Letters to 'the King, that he ſhould make Peace with *Scot-'land*, and that he ſhould put the Matter to his 'Order. The King, by the Advice of his Coun-'cil, ſent Word, That he would not commit the 'Matter to be ordered by the Pope. And all the 'Lords writ unto the Pope, That although the 'King would give away his Right that he had in '*Scotland*, that he ſhould not do it; becauſe it was 'his Right to have the Supreme Government of '*Scotland*. And further, the Biſhop of *London* ſaid, 'at the ſame Time, That he ſaw, in the Time of 'King *Henry* VI. when the Pope ſent Letters 'which were in Derogation of the King, and the

'Spiritual

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'Spiritual Men durſt not ſay any Thing againſt 'them, that *Humphrey* Duke of *Glouceſter* took 'the Letters, and caſt them into the Fire, and burnt 'them. If the Nobility, our Anceſtors, have ſo 'ſtoutly maintained the Right of the Prince againſt 'the Pope, ſhall we ſeem now to maintain the 'Pope and his Authority, in refuſing to puniſh 'thoſe with ſo juſt a Law, that do, for Mainte-'nance of the Pope, refuſe to ſwear their Oath of 'Allegiance to their Sovereign Lady and Queen?

'13 *Hen.* 8. Treaſon may be in Intendment 'only, Felony muſt be in Act always. But who-'ſo refuſeth to ſwear to the Prince, diſcloſeth the 'Intendment of his Heart to be traiterous. There-'fore, *&c.* After theſe Allegations out of Hiſtory, 'then it was further ſhewn as followeth:

'*Firſt*, By Act of Parliament made in the firſt 'Year of the Queen, the Supreme Government 'over her Spirituality and Temporality, was given 'to her; and the extolling of the Biſhop of *Rome* 'made *Premunire* for the ſecond Offence; and 'Treaſon the third Time: And the offering of 'the Oath appointed, and the Refuſal thereof by a-'ny, made the Loſs of his Office [the firſt Time.] 'The new Bill maketh for the firſt Offence, of ex-'tolling of the Biſhop of *Rome's* Authority, or Re-'fuſal of the Oath, *Premunire*; and the ſecond 'Time Treaſon. For the extolling or ſetting forth 'that Biſhop's Authority, all do condeſcend the 'Penalty is not unreaſonable; but only to force 'the Oath, which they ſay toucheth the Conſci-'ence, which ſhould not be ſearched, [that ſome are 'againſt.]

'As to that, firſt it muſt be conſidered, ſeeing it 'is enacted that both be Offences, what Pains the 'Offendors deſerve. The Contents of the Oath is 'an Acknowledging of the ſuperiority in the Prince, 'and Promiſe of Allegiance; which is the Duty of 'every Subject, as a Subject in Temporal Cauſes, 'and toucheth no Spiritual Thing, but bindeth the 'Subject by Promiſe to recognize the Sovereignty 'in his Prince. Which if a Man may be by his

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'Prince commanded to confeſs, if he refuſe, is 'Treaſon; becauſe, in that he doth refuſe it, he 'doth affirm the contrary of the Oath to be true. 'As for Example, if the Lord doth require his Te- 'nant to do Homage to him, wherein he doth but 'confeſs him to be his Lord, and himſelf to be his 'Tenant; if he refuſe to do it, what elſe doth he, 'but diſavow him to be his Lord? To ſay a Man 'may have a Conſcience in it, to that, [I ask] 'Shall a Man have a Conſcience in Caſes of Trea- 'ſon?

'The Prince at her Coronation ſwears to de- 'fend us; Shall not we ſwear to defend her? The 'Refuſal of the Oath was Treaſon in the Time of 'King *Henry*, eſtabliſhed by Parliament. If then 'newly, upon new Proof of the Enormity of the '*Romiſh* Practices, the Refuſal was Treaſon at the 'firſt Offence, when by common Reaſon the Sud- 'denneſs of the Alteration might have endangered 'the Sate, if his [the Biſhop of *Rome's*] Authority 'had been thought godly and lawful; *a multo forti- ori*, now is it expedient to make the Offence 'Treaſon at the ſecond Time; eſpecially being ſo 'long tried by Learning and Reaſon, to be an 'uſurped Authority; and alſo by Length of Time 'worn far more out of Memory.

'We have promiſed, in the Speaker's laſt Mo- 'tion for Eſtabliſhment, to make Laws for her [the 'Queen's] Defence. What better Law may there 'be made? If we endeavour not to make it, we 'break our Promiſe; and ſhe ſaid, She looked for 'Promiſe therein to be kept by us.

'If any Man be required, in the Queen's Name, 'to acknowledge her Queen of *England* over all 'her People; if he refuſe to do it, he is a Traitor. 'There is no other Thing in Effect comprized in 'the Oath. Therefore the Refuſer of the Oath is a 'Traitor. And in that the firſt Offence is made *Pre- munire*, and the ſecond Treaſon, it is too mild for 'the Offence; eſpecially, the Wife's Dower, and 'the Heir's Inheritance without Corruption of 'Blood, being ſaved.

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'To say, It was never made Treason, *Ergo*, not to be Treason now, the Argument is not true. For if the Princes would have so taken it, it were Treason by the common Laws of this Realm; but that King *Henry* was abused by Error. But if it were never Treason before, seeing the Circumstances of Time past, present, and that may follow, it is expedient to make, upon the new Occasion, new Laws, as is daily in other Cases. Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'If they say, It toucheth Conscience; and it is a Thing wherein a Man ought to have a Scruple: But if any hath a Conscience in it, these four Years Space might have settled it. Also, after his first Refusal, he hath three Months Respit for Conference, and settling of his Conscience.

'Again, The Oath is not to be tendred to any, that by Intendment shall want Reason to know the Sovereignty of the Prince.

'If any Man, be he never so unlearned, do openly pronounce the contrary of the Oath against the Queen, they themselves will say, He deserveth Death as a Traitor; and that it is not Matter of Heresy or Doctrine. If so, it is to see whether the Denial to accept the same be an Affirmation to the contrary. If so, then Treason doubtless.'

Several more Acts were made this Session, which tho' of not so much Significancy to the State as the former, are yet worth Observation; to shew the extraordinary Humour of the Times.

'An Act also was made by this Parliament, *against fond and fantastical Prophesies*. The Ground and Cause of this Act is assigned in the Beginning of the said Act to be, 'That divers ill-disposed Persons in King *Edward's* Days, inclining to the moving of Factions, Seditions and Rebellions within this Realm, made use of fond Prophesies to amuse the People easily carried away by such Deceits, which appeared to them like something Divine.' Wherefore, an Act was made against these Prophecies in that King's Reign, which was expired. Act against Prophesies.

Queen Elizabeth. 1562. But the like Practice began now again to be uſed, in faining, imagining, inventing and publiſhing ſuch *fond and fantaſtical Prophecies*, as well concerning the Queen, as divers honourable Perſonages of the Realm, and others, to the great Diſquiet, Trouble and Peril of the Queen and Realm. Therefore, now a new Act was made againſt ſuch Framers and Divulgers of idle Propheſies. And the Penalty of a Year's Impriſonment, and 10 *l.* for every Offence, was laid upon every one that did ſet forth in Writing, Printing, Singing, or by any other open Speech or Deed, any *fond and falſe Propheſies*; upon, or by occaſion of, any Arms, Fields, Beaſts, Badges, or other ſuch like Things accuſtomed in Arms, Cognizances or Signets; or upon, or by reaſon of any Time, Year or Day, Name, Bloodſhed or Wax; to intend thereby to make any Rebellion, Inſurrection, Diſſention, Loſs of Life, or other Diſturbance within the Realm. The ſecond Offence was made Impriſonment during Life, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chatels.

'This Act alſo was made to meet with thoſe that were diſaffected to the preſent Government and Religion eſtabliſhed: Who would privately foretel, by ſome pretended hidden Skill, the ſhort Duration of the Queen's Reign, or the Time or Year of her Death: And by the Coats of Arms, and Bearings of ſome of the Chief Perſons about the Queen, [as the Bear and Ragged Staff belonging to the Lord *Robert Dudley*,] *&c.* would frame Significations of Things fortunate to themſelves, and unfortunate to thoſe they bore Ill will to.

Alſo againſt Conjuration and Witchcraft. 'Another Act was made *againſt Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts*. That which gave Ground to this Act was, 'That as theſe wicked 'Practices now-a-Days prevailed much, ſo there 'was no ordinary or condign Puniſhment provided 'againſt ſuch Practicers of Conjurations and Invoca-'tion of wicked Spirits, Sorceries, Charms, En-'chantments and Witchcrafts, the Statute againſt 'them 33 *Hen.* 8. having been repealed 1 *Edw.* 6.' Since the Repeal whereof, many phantaſtical and

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deviliſh Perſons had deviſed and practiſed Invocations and Conjurations of Evil Spirits, and had uſed and practiſed Witchcraft, Enchantments, *&c.* to the Deſtruction of this Realm, and for other lewd Intents and Purpoſes. The Penalty of ſuch was to ſuffer the Pains of Death as Felons, when upon any ſuch Witchcraft or Enchantment, any Perſon ſhould happen to be killed or deſtroyed: Or Impriſonment for a Year, and once every Quarter of the ſaid Year to ſtand upon the Pillory ſix Hours in ſome Market-Town, and there openly confeſs his Error and Offence; when by ſuch Enchantment or Witchcraft any Perſon was not killed, but waſted, conſumed, or lamed in his Body or Members; or whereby any Goods or Chatels of any Perſon ſhould be deſtroyed, waſted or impaired. The ſecond Offence to be Death. Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'Another Act now made was, *For the due Execution of the Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo.* Let me alſo relate the Reaſon and Occaſion of this Act; as in the Preamble is ſpecified: Namely, 'That 'divers Perſons offending in many grievous Crimes 'and Offences, appertaining to the Juriſdiction of 'the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, were many Times un-'puniſhed for lack of good and due Execution of the 'ſaid Writ.' The great Abuſe whereof was, That the ſaid Writ was not returnable into any Court but left to the Direction of the Sheriffs or their Deputies; by whoſe Negligence and Defaults the Writ by this Means was not executed at all. And hereby ſuch Offenders were much encouraged to continue their ſinful Life. Therefore it was enacted, That the ſaid Writ that ſhould be awarded out of the High Court of Chancery, ſhould be made in the Time of the Term returnable in the Court of King's-Bench, in the Term next after the *Teſte* of the ſaid Writ. And that if the Writ delivered of Record to the Sheriff, or his Deputy, were not duly returned before the Juſtices of the King's-Bench; or that any Default or Negligence had been uſed, in not well ſerving and executing it; then they to aſſeſs ſuch Amerciament upon the ſaid Sheriff or Act relating to Excommunication.

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his Deputy, as they ſhould in their Diſcretion think meet. And in caſe the Sheriff, or his Officer, return that the Party named in the Writ could not be found within his Bailiffwick, then the Juſtices of the ſaid Bench to award a Writ of *Capias*. And how that was to be managed, and the Puniſhment of the Perſon excommunicated, *&c.* may be read in the Act, the Particulars too long to be inſerted.

'What the Crimes or Cauſes of proceeding to excommunicate any, and the ſaid Writ thereupon, may be underſtood by a Proviſion in this Act, *viz.* That in the *Significavit* muſt be mentioned the Cauſe of the Excommunication, as ſome Matter of Hereſy, or refuſing to have a Child baptized, or to receive the Holy Communion as now commonly uſed to be received by the Church of *England*, or to come to Divine Service as now commonly uſed in the ſaid Church, or Error in Matter of Religion or Doctrine now received and allowed in this Church; Incontinency, Uſury, Simony, Perjury in the Eccleſiaſtical Court, Idolatry.

'This Act ſeems to back and give a Force to the Cenſures of the Biſhops. Which was needful in this Juncture, to check Papiſts, and other ſcandalous Crimes and corrupt Doctrines againſt the Religion, as now reformed. For in the Act there is a *Saving* to the Authority of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as to certify any Perſons Excommunicate, ſo to accept and receive the Submiſſion and Satisfaction of Perſons ſo excommunicate in Manner and Form heretofore uſed; and to abſolve and releaſe them, and the ſame to ſignify, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed, into the Court of Chancery: And thereupon to have ſuch Writs for the Deliverance of ſuch Perſons, ſo abſolved and releaſed, from the Sheriff's Cuſtody or Priſon, as heretofore they, or any of them, had, or, of Right, ought to have.'

Thus far Mr. *Strype*.

Other Acts paſs'd,

The reſt of the Acts paſſed this Seſſion are not much to our Purpoſe. Tho' there were ſeveral more good Laws made for the Relief of the Poor; the Puniſhment

Punishment of those Vagabonds, called *Egyptians*, and Forgers of Evidences. As, also, such as should commit Sodomy or Perjury. Other Acts were made for well-ordering of the Royal Navy; for the Support and Improvement of Tillage. Several more Attainders were also revers'd; amongst which that of the Children of *Cranmer*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is the most remarkable. An Act was passed for a Translation of the Bible, and other Divine Offices, into the *Welch* Tongue. Lastly, an Act was made declaring the Authority of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* and the Lord Chancellor's to be all one. So that now Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, who is, thro' both those Parliaments, stiled *Custos Magni Sigilli*, is declared to be the same as Lord High Chancellor of *England*. It is to be remarked, that *Henry* VIII. had, by Act of Parliament, consigned the first Place of Honour to the Lord Chancellor; the second to the Lord Treasurer; the third to the President of his Majesty's Council; and the fourth to the Lord Privy Seal. And, they were to take Place of all Dukes, except those of the Blood Royal.

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And Attainders revers'd.

In the Proceedings of the House of Commons, this Parliament, the Affair of the Queen's Marriage and settling the Succession, was again renewed. We are told, that on *January* 16th a Motion was made in that House; and on the 19th, the Speaker and twenty-four more were appointed a Committee to draw up the Form of a Petition to her Majesty for the Purpose aforesaid. And, on the 28th of the same Month, the Speaker, with the whole House, attended on the Queen; and after a short Oration of his own, delivered their Petition to her. The Form of which is preserved in *D'Ewes's* Journals, as follows:

Another Petition of the Commons for the Queen to marry.

"YOUR Commons in this your Majesty's present Parliament assembled, Most High and Mighty Princess, our Most Dread Sovereign Lady, as they do daily, to their Commodity and Comfort, feel and receive the inestimable Benefits

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of your most gracious Government of this your Realm, in Peace and Surety, so do also most thankfully acknowledge the same, beseeching Almighty God long to bless and continue your most prosperous Reign over them; and among all these Benefits which they daily receive of your Highness, they have at this Time willed me, in their Names, to recognize unto your Highness, that they account it not the least, but rather among the greatest of them all, That your Majesty hath at this Time assembled your Parliament, for supplying and redressing the greatest Wants and Defaults in your Commonweal, and for the establishing the Surety of the same; which your Majesty's most gracious Meaning, hath been at your Commandment, signified unto us, by the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of your Great Seal of *England*; namely in this, that he willed us first to have Consideration of the greatest Matters that nearest touch'd the State of the Realm, and the Preservation thereof, seeming therein also to express unto us the Conformity of your Majesty's Mind, in having principal Respect to the Matters of greatest Weight; and for that Respect assembling this your Parliament. And forasmuch as your said Subjects see nothing in this whole Estate of so great Importance to your Majesty, and the whole Realm, nor so necessary at this Time to be reduced to Certainty, as the sure Continuance of the Government of the Imperial Crown thereof, and the most honourable Issue of your Body (which Almighty God send us to your Highness's Comfort) and for Want thereof, in some certain Limitation to guide the Obedience of our Posterity; and where Almighty God, to our great Terror and dreadful Warning, lately touched your Highness with some Danger of your most noble Person, by Sickness; from which so soon as your Grace was, by God's Favour and Mercy to us, recovered, your Highness sent out your Writs of Parliament, by Force whereof your Subjects are at this Time assembled; your said

Subjects

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‘ Subjects are both by the Neceſſity and Importance ‘ of the Matter, and by the Convenience of the ‘ Time of calling them immediately upon your ‘ Recovery, enforced to gather, and confeſs, that ‘ your Majeſty, of your moſt gracious and mo- ‘ therly Care for them and their Poſterity, have ‘ ſummoned this Parliament, principally for eſta- ‘ bliſhing of ſome certain Limitation of the Impe- ‘ rial Crown of your Realm, for Preſervation of ‘ your Subjects from certain and utter Deſtruction; ‘ (if the ſame ſhould not be provided in your Life ‘ which God long continue.) They cannot, I ‘ ſay, but acknowledge your Majeſty hath moſt ‘ graciouſly conſidered the great Dangers, the un- ‘ ſpeakable Miſeries of Civil Wars, the perillous ‘ Intermingling of Foreign Princes with ſediti- ‘ ous, ambitious and factious Subjects at Home; ‘ the Waſte of noble Houſes, the Slaughter of Peo- ‘ ple, Subverſion of Towns; Intermiſſion of all ‘ Things pertaining to the Maintenance of the ‘ Realm, Unſurety of all Men's Poſſeſſions, Lives ‘ and Eſtates; daily Interchange of Attainders and ‘ Treaſons. All theſe Miſchiefs, and infinite others, ‘ moſt likely and evident, if your Majeſty ſhould ‘ be taken from us, without known Heir, (which ‘ God forbid) to fall upon your Subjects, to the ‘ utter Subverſion of the whole, whereof you have ‘ Charge under God: If good Proviſion ſhould not ‘ be had in this Behalf. Your Majeſty hath ‘ weighed the Examples of foreign Nations, as ‘ what enſued the Death of Great *Alexander*, when ‘ for Want of certain Heirs by him begotten, or ‘ appointed, the Variety of Titles, the Diverſity of ‘ Diſpoſitions in them that had Titles. the Ambi- ‘ tion of them that under Colour of Doubtfulneſs ‘ of Title forſook all Obedience of Titles, deſtroy- ‘ ed his Dominions, and waſted Poſterity with ‘ mutual Wars and Slaughters: In what miſerable ‘ Caſe alſo was this Realm itſelf, when the Title of ‘ the Crown was toſſed in Queſtion, between the ‘ two Royal Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, till your ‘ moſt noble Progenitors *Henry* the Seventh, and the

‘ Lady

Queen Elizabeth. 1562. ‘ Lady *Elizabeth* his Wife, restored it to a settled
‘ Unity, and left the Crown in a certain Course of
‘ Succession? These Things as your Majesty
‘ hath upon your own Danger, most graciously
‘ considered for our Comfort and Safety; so we
‘ most humble Subjects, knowing the Preservation
‘ of ourselves, and all our Posterity, to depend
‘ upon the Safety of your Majesty's most Royal
‘ Person, have most carefully and diligently con-
‘ sidered, how the Want of Heirs of your Body,
‘ and certain Limitation of Succession after you, is
‘ most perillous to your Highness, whom God
‘ long preserve amongst us. We have been admo-
‘ nished of the great Malice of your foreign Ene-
‘ mies, which even in your Lifetime have sought to
‘ transfer the Dignity and Right of your Crown to
‘ a Stranger; we have noted their daily most dan-
‘ gerous Practices against your Life and Reign; we
‘ have heard of some Subjects of this Land, most
‘ unnaturally confederated with your Enemies, to
‘ attempt the Destruction of your Majesty, and us
‘ all that live by you; we fear a Faction of Here-
‘ ticks in your Realm, contentious and malicious
‘ Papists, lest they most unnaturally against their
‘ Country, most madly against their own Safety,
‘ and most treacherously against your Highness, not
‘ only hope for the woful Day of your Death, but
‘ also lay in wait to advance some Title, under
‘ which they may revive their late unspeakable
‘ Cruelty, to the Destruction of Goods, Possessions
‘ and Bodies, and Thraldom of the Souls and Con-
‘ sciences of your faithful and Christian Subjects;
‘ we see nothing to withstand their Desire, but
‘ your only Life; their Unkindness and Cruelty we
‘ have tasted; we fear much to what Attempt the
‘ Hope of such Opportunity (nothing withstanding
‘ them but your Life) will move them; we find
‘ how necessary it is for your Preservation, that
‘ there be more Bounds set between your Ma-
‘ jesty's Life and their Desire; we see, on the other
‘ Side, how there can be no such Danger to your
‘ Majesty by Ambition of any apparent Heir esta-
‘ blished

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'blished by your Benefit and Advancement, for Want of Iſſue of your Majeſty's Royal Body, as you are now ſubject unto, by reaſon of their Deſire and Hope; we know not how many pretend Titles and Truſt to ſucceed you, whoſe ſecret Deſire we ſo much more fear, becauſe neither their Number, Force, nor Likelihood of Diſpoſition is known unto us; and ſo we can the leſs beware of them for your Preſervation.

'We find alſo, by good Proof, that the certain Limitation of the Crown of *France*, hath in that Realm procured ſo great Quiet, as neither the Perſon of the Prince in Poſſeſſion hath been indangered by ſecret or open Practice; nor the Commonweal moleſted by civil Diſſention, through any Quarrel attempted, for the Title of that Crown. And ſomewhat near home, we have remembred the miſerable Eſtate of *Scotland*, after the Death of King *Alexander*, without any certain Heir, or Limitation to whom the Crown of *Scotland* ſhould remain; by reaſon whereof the whole Eſtate of that Realm was left open to the Ambition of many Competitors, and moſt grievous Deſolation and Spoil, that grew upon ſuch Diviſion; which afterwards gave Occaſion to King *James* the Fifth, to limit the Crown of *Scotland* to certain noble Families of that Realm; whereby they, at this preſent, enjoy that quiet Surety which we want. And all your Majeſty's moſt noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, have been in this Behalf ſo careful, that from the Conqueſt till this preſent Day, the Realm was never left, as it is now, without a certain Heir, living and known, to whom the Crown, after the Death of the Prince, ſhould appertain. So, as your Majeſty of your ſingular Care for us, and our Poſterity, hath at this Time aſſembled us, for eſtabliſhing this great and only Stay of our Safeties: We again, Moſt Gracious Sovereign Lady, acknowledge our ſelves, and all that we have, to depend upon your Preſervation, being according to our bounden Duty, moſt careful of the ſame,

'are

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

‘ are in moſt humble Manner come to your Maje-
‘ ſty's Preſence: And I, the Mouth appointed for
‘ them, together with, and in the Name of all your
‘ moſt loving, natural and obedient Subjects, do
‘ preſent unto you our moſt lowly Suit and Peti-
‘ tion, That foraſmuch as of your Majeſty's Perſon
‘ would come the moſt redoubted and beſt Heirs of
‘ your Crown, ſuch as in Time to come we would
‘ moſt comfortably ſee, and our Poſterity moſt joy-
‘ fully obey:

‘ It may pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty, for
‘ our Sakes, for our Preſervation and Comforts, and
‘ at our moſt humble Suit, to take to yourſelf ſome
‘ honourable Husband, whom it ſhall pleaſe you to
‘ join unto in Marriage; whom, whatſoever he be
‘ that your Majeſty ſhall chooſe, we proteſt and
‘ promiſe, with all Humility and Reverence, to
‘ honour, love and ſerve, as to our moſt bounded
‘ Duty ſhall appertain. And where by the Statute
‘ which your moſt noble Father aſſented unto, of
‘ his moſt princely and fartherly Zeal for his moſt
‘ loving Subjects, for the Limitation of the Succeſ-
‘ ſion of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, your
‘ Majeſty is the laſt expreſsly named within the
‘ Body of the ſaid Act; and for that your Subjects
‘ cannot judge, nor do know any thing of the Form
‘ or Validity of any further Limitations, left incer-
‘ tain for Want of Heirs of your Body, whereby
‘ ſome great dangerous Doubt remaineth in their
‘ Hearts, to their great Grief, Peril and Unquiet-
‘ neſs: It may alſo pleaſe your Majeſty, by Pro-
‘ clamation of Certainty already provided, if any
‘ ſuch be, or elſe by Limitations of Certainty, if
‘ none be, to provide a moſt gracious Remedy in
‘ this Great neceſſity; which, by your moſt ho-
‘ nourable and motherly Carefulneſs for them, hath
‘ occaſioned this Aſſembly; That in this conveni-
‘ ent Time of Parliament, upon your late Danger
‘ moſt graciouſly called, by you, for that Cauſe,
‘ your Grace may now extend to us that great Be-
‘ nefit, which otherwiſe, or at other Times, per-
‘ haps, ſhall never be able to be done again; ſo not

‘ only

'only we, but all ours hereafter, and for ever, shall owe no less to your Majesty's Propagation of Succession, than we do already owe to your most famous Grandfather, King *Henry* the Seventh, his uniting of Division. And your subjects, on their Behalfs, for your Majesty's further Assurance, whereupon their own Preservation wholly dependeth, shall employ their whole Endeavours, and Wits, and Power, to renew, devise and establish the most strong and beneficial Acts and Laws of Preservation and Surety of your Majesty and of your Issue, in the Imperial Crown of this Realm: and the most penal, sharp and terrible Statutes, to all that shall but once practise, and attempt, or conceive against your Safety; that by any possible Means they may invent or establish, with such Limitations of Conditions, and Restraints to all in Remainders, such grievous Pains, and narrow Animadversions to all that shall enterprize or imagine any thing in Prejudice of your Highness, and your Issue, as your Majesty shall not have any Cause of Suspicion, but most assured Ground of Confidence in all your faithful Subjects, continually watching and warding for your Preservation, which God long continue, that you may see your Childrens Children, to His Honour and our Comfort, and incline your gracious Ear to our most humble Petitions.' Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

No Answer was returned to this Address, till the 16th of *February*; and then Mr. Comptroller, and Mr. Secretary, acquainted the House, 'That her Majesty doubted not but the grave Heads of this House did right well consider that she forgot not the Suit of this House, for the Succession; the Matter being so weighty, nor could forget it. But she willed the young Heads to take Example of their Elders'. We may believe this short Answer to their long Address was not well relished by the Commons; but still, no farther Notice was taken of it, 'till the last Day of this Session. And, The Queen's short Answer.

On the 10th Day of *April*, the Bills being all ready for the Royal Assent, the Queen came to the House

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

House of Lords, in the Afternoon; and, on presenting the Bills, the Speaker of the House of Commons made the following Speech:

The Speaker's Speech to the Queen, enforcing the Address for her Marriage.

'THIS it is, most excellent and virtuous Princess, *&c.* As Nature giveth to every reasonable Creature to speak, so it is a Grace to be well learned; and I representing the Mouth of such a Body as cannot speak for itself, and in the Presence of your Majesty's Person and Nobles, must most humbly desire and crave of your Highness, to bear with my Imperfections.

'This Commonwealth hath been, by God's Providence, first instituted, and since, by Mans Policy, continued; wherein Justice and good Counsel is most to be preferred: For ancient Law-Makers, and Authors of good Laws, be worthy to be praised, and had in perpetual Remembrance; and such are the Laws that we have made in this Commonwealth, as, in my Opinion, do excell and pass all other human Laws.

'Amongst divers Authors of good Laws, we have set forth unto us to the End they should not be forgotten, three Queens; the first *Palestina*, the Queen, reigning before the Deluge, who made Laws as well concerning Peace as War.

'The second was *Ceres*, the Queen, which made Laws concerning Evil-Doers. And,

'The third was *Marc*, Wife of *Bathilacus*, Mother to *Stillicus*, the King, who enacted Laws for the Maintenance and Preservation of the Good and Well-Doers.

'And since that Time, *Etheldred*, a King in this Realm, established Laws, and set in most beaten, high, and cross Ways, a Cross, and therein a Hand, with a Ring of Gold, pointing to the most usual; which also stood untaken away or diminished during his Life.

'And so you are the fourth Queen, Establisher of good Laws, our most dread Sovereign Lady, for your Time, as happy as any of the three; which Happiness for the present I let slip, and desire

'sire, as all our Hearts do, that some happy Mar- Queen Elizabeth.
'riage to your Contentation might shortly be 1562.
'brought to pass. Your Majesty finding this Realm
'out of Order, and full of Abuses, have continual-
'ly had a special Care to reform the said Abuses;
'and for the more expelling thereof, have congre-
'gated together this Assembly, whereby partly to
'your Contentation, for Reformation of the same
'to its old pristine Estate, and for Money and
'Peace is all that chiefly we have done; for which
'Purposes, we have agreed upon and made certain
'Laws, which, until your Majesty have granted
'your Royal Assent, and so given Life thereunto,
'cannot be called Laws.

'And herein requiring of your Majesty three Pe-
'titions, two for the Commons, and one for my-
'self; the first for such Laws as they have made,
'being as yet without Life, and so no Laws; that
'it would please your Majesty to grant your Royal
'Assent unto them. Secondly, that your High-
'ness would accept their Doings in good Part, that
'the Imperfections of their Labours, by your Ac-
'ceptance may be supplied; for, as appeareth in
'sundry Histories, the Persons of those Princes and
'Subjects have long continued, which have well
'used themselves one toward the other; which,
'without neglecting of my Duty, I cannot, in
'your Presence, so let slip: For, as it appeareth in
'divers Histories, the noble *Alexander* having pre-
'sented unto him, by one of his poor Soldiers, the
'Head of one of his Enemies, he, not forgetting
'the Service of his Soldier, although herein he had
'done but his Duty, gave unto him a Cup of Gold,
'which first the Soldier refused; but after that *A-*
'*lexander* had commanded it to be filled with
'Wine, and delivered him, he received it; where-
'by appeareth the noble and liberal Heart of the
'said *Alexander*.

'Also, *Xenophon*, writing of the Life of *Cyrus*,
'who being liberal of Gifts, having vanquished
'*Crœsus*, and he marvelled at his Liberality, said, It
'were better to keep it by him, than so liberally to

'depart

Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

depart from it; unto whom *Cyrus* answered, That his Treasure was innumerable; and appointed *Cræsus* a Day, to see the same; and thereupon took Order, that his Subjects should, before that Time, bring in their Treasure; which being innumerable, and more than *Cyrus* by any other Means could have given; *Cræsus* much wondered thereat; *Cyrus* said, Thou causest me to take of my Subjects, and retain the same; but what need I to take, when they so frankly will bring it unto me; and so as Occasion serveth, ready continually to supply my Want? thereof, how can I be but rich, having such Subjects? but if they by any Means were poor, then were I poor also.

'Which two worthy Examples of *Alexander* and *Cyrus*, your Majesty hath not forgotten to pursue; but with the like Zeal have hitherto always used us, and now especially at this present, by your most gracious and free Pardon; for the which, and all other, they by me their Mouth, do most humbly thank you; acknowledging such and so much Love and Zeal of their Parts towards your Majesty, as ever any Subjects did bear towards their Prince and Governour. And in Token thereof, with one Assent to offer to your Highness, one *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths*, most humbly beseeching your Majesty to accept it, not in Recompence of your Benefits, but also as a Token of their Duty, as the poor Widow's Farthing was accepted, as appeareth in the Scripture.

'Thirdly, That it may also like your Majesty, to accept my humble Thanks in allowing, and admitting me, being unworthy of this Place, and bearing with my unworthy Service; and last of all, my unfitting Words, uplandish and rude Speech; beseeching God to incline your Majesty's Heart to Marriage, and that he will so bless and send you good Success thereunto, that we may see the Fruits and Children that may come thereof; so that you and they may, prosperously,

'and

'and as long Time, reign over us, as ever did any King's or Princes; which God for his Mercies Sake grant unto us.' Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

Then the Queen called the Lord Keeper unto her, commanding him, in her Name, to answer the Speaker, as she then declared unto him; which followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

'THE Queen's Majesty hath heard how humbly and discreetly you have declared the Proceedings, and for Answer hath commanded me, that I should utter three or four Things. The first, for her Royal Assent to the Acts made at this Parliament. Secondly, How comfortably, and also thankfully, her Majesty accepteth your Liberality. And, thirdly, For the executing of the Laws. The Lord Keeper's Answer, in the Queen's Name.

'Here, my Lords and Masters, although I cannot declare, or open it unto you, as her Majesty hath commanded me: and therefore willingly would hold my Tongue, if I might; which, for that I cannot be so excused, I say unto you, as followeth; not doubting of her Highness's Clemency in bearing with me herein.

'First, Her Majesty considereth how wisely you have done for the abolishing of the *Romish* Power, the common Enemy of this Realm; remembring your Care for the Defence of the same Realm, your Respects for the Maintenance of Victual, the Banishment of Vagabonds, and Relief of the Poor, with others: And therefore alloweth your worthy Proceedings herein.

'Secondly, Your Liberality and Benevolence, wherein your wise Considerations towards her Charges, is by her Majesty taken in thankful Part; and, I take it to be my Duty to put you in Remembrance, that although this Subsidy is made, and to be born by Subjects, not daily accustomed thereunto, yet that at her first Entrance she had the like; and that the Grant

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

'thereof is more liberal than afore hath been accuſ-
'tomed, and that it is of your Neceſſity, yet it is
'to withſtand a greater Neceſſity, that for Fault
'thereof would elſe have enſued; and therefore
'that Penny is well ſpent that ſaveth a Groat;
'which alſo hath been granted, neither with Per-
'ſuaſions, Threats, nor ſharp Words, which afore
'this Time hath been accuſtomed, but by one ge-
'neral Conſent of you all; wherein appeareth your
'good Wills, and benevolent Minds, you bear to
'her Majeſty, which Zeal ſhe moſt kindly ac-
'cepteth; and, as ſhe hath Cauſe, thanketh you.

'Again, by her Majeſty's Command, ſhe, re-
'membring by whom, why, and to whom this was
'granted, doth thank as freely as you have granted,
'the moſt Part whereof hath been accepted; and
'leſt thoſe that have ſo freely offered ſhould not
'be ſo ready toward the gathering, thinketh it much
'better to loſe the Sum granted, than to loſe your
'benevolent Minds.

'Thirdly, To the Execution of Laws, I have
'little to ſay, although the whole Subſtance conſiſt-
'eth therein; becauſe I did, in the Beginning of
'this Parliament, declare my Opinion in that Mat-
'ter; and therefore, as now you have, to your
'Charges, taken Pains in making good Laws, ſo
'put to your Helps, to ſee theſe and all others ex-
'ecuted; for as it is infalliable, that a Thing done,
'unconſtrained is much better than when they be
'conſtrained thereunto; even ſo her Majeſty wil-
'leth you to look well, without more Words, to
'the Execution, leſt her Grace ſhould be driven to
'do, as ſhe doth in her Eccleſiaſtical Laws, make
'Commiſſions to inquire, whether they be done or
'no; whereby ſhe ſhall know thoſe Juſtices and
'Officers, who have done their Duty, and are to be
'uſed in Service of Juſtice, whereof her Majeſty
'deſireth to have many; and again ſhe ſhall under-
'ſtand who are to be barred from the like Rooms,
'and the penal Statutes to be on them executed,
'after this gentle Warning: Which Inquiry, I
'know, is like to fall on me, as well as another.

'How-

" Howbeit, if Juſtice be not executed, I ſhall be Queen Elizabeth,
" glad to ſee this Order taken. Notwithſtanding, 1562.
" her Majeſty hopeth that this her Admonition ſhall
" not need, for that you ſee Laws without Execu-
" tion, be as a Torch unlighted, or Body without a
" Soul: Therefore, look well to the Executing.
" Here endeth the three Things which her Maje-
" ſty commanded me to ſay unto you.

" Beſides this, her Majeſty hath to anſwer your
" Petitions. And as to the firſt, in which you deſire
" her Royal Aſſent to ſuch Matters as you have
" agreed upon; to that ſhe ſaith, How at this pre-
" ſent ſhe is come for that Purpoſe.

" And, for your other Petitions, to accept in good
" Part, as well your Service as the Travails and
" Doings of the Nether Houſe, this Parliament:
" To that ſhe anſwereth, how that ſhe doth not
" only accept them in good Part, but alſo thanketh
" both you and them for the ſame.

" And touching your Requeſt, before this made
" unto her, for her Marriage and Succeſſion; be-
" cauſe it is of ſuch Importance, whereby I doubted
" my own opening thereof, I therefore deſired her
" Majeſty, that her Meaning might be written,
" which ſhe hath done, and delivered to me, to be
" read, as followeth:

" SInce there can be no duer Debt than Princes
" Words, which I would obſerve, therefore
" I anſwer to the ſame. Thus it is; The two
" Petitions, which you made unto me, do contain
" two Things, my Marriage, and Succeſſion after
" me. For the Firſt, If I had let ſlip too much
" Time, or if my Strength had been decayed, you
" might the better have ſpoke therein; or if any
" think I never meant to try that Life, they be de-
" ceived; but if I may hereafter bend my Mind
" thereunto, the rather for fulfilling your Requeſt,
" I ſhall be therewith very well content.

" For the Second; The Greatneſs thereof mak-
" eth me to ſay and pray, that I may linger here in
" this Vale of Miſery, for your Comfort; wherein

Queen Elizabeth. 1562.

" I have Witneſs of my Study and Travail, for " your Surety: And I cannot, with *Nunc dimittis*, " end my Life without I ſee ſome Foundation of " your Surety after my Grave-Stone."

The Parliament prorogued.

After which, her Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to thirty-one publick and ſeventeen private Acts. And then the Lord Keeper prorogued this Parliament to the 2d Day of *October* next enſuing.

Nothing material happening to the State in this Interval; we ſhall paſs on to the Time limited by the laſt Prorogation. And, on the 2d of *October*, the ſame Year, the Parliament being again met, the Lord Treaſurer informed the Members of both Houſes, 'That for ſundry Cauſes and Conſiderations, 'but, particularly, by reaſon the *Plague* (*a*) was then 'raging in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and 'the Suburbs of the ſame, her Majeſty had thought 'good to prorogue this Parliament, ſtill farther, to 'the 5th Day of *October*, in the next Year.' The Writ of Prorogation is inſerted, at length, in the *Journals*; dated at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, *October* 2d, in the 5th Year of her Reign. This peſtilential Diſtemper was brought into *England*, at that Time, by the Soldiers that had ſerved in the Garriſon at *Newhaven*, then beſieged and taken by the *French*. It ſpread to ſuch a Degree in *London*, that there were carried out from that City alone, which then conſiſted of 121 Pariſhes, 21,530 dead Bodies. *Stowe* writes, that there was no *Michaelmas* Term kept, and that the City was viſited with a threefold Plague this Year, Peſtilence, Scarcity of Money, and a great Dearth of Victuals (*b*).

The War had now been, alſo, proclaimed on both Sides, but it did not continue long; for the next Year a Peace was concluded between the two contending Powers. But tho' the Parliament met again, at the Time appointed, it was again prorogued from the 5th of *October*, to the 30th Day of *April* next

(*a*) *Maxime, propter Infectionem Aeris peſtiferi, per Civitates* London *&* Weſtminſter, *&* *Suburbia, ad præſens graſſante.* Journ. Proceſ.

(*b*) *Stowe's* Chron. p 656. *Hollingſhead, &c.*

next following; without any Reasons given for it in the Writ. And, from the last named Day, another Writ still prorogued this Parliament to the 4th of *October* next ensuing. Nor was it then suffered to sit, but was once more prorogued to the 7th Day of *February*; from which Time this Parliament was still prorogued to the 30th Day of *September*, which was then in the eighth Year of this Reign. Queen Elizabeth. 1566. Anno Regni. 8 1566.

These frequent Prorogations, which are so far from being in *Die ad Diem*, that they are almost *in Anno ad Annum*, are what we have not yet met with in the Course of this History. It seems as if the Queen and her Ministry were too well pleased with the former Proceedings of this Parliament to suffer a Dissolution of it, tho' they had no Occasion for its Sitting for so many Years together. However, at the last appointed Time, they now met to do Business; but an Accident had happened to the House of Commons, which greatly disconcerted their Proceedings. *Thomas Williams*, Esq; their Speaker, was dead; and, as they could not act without one, they were at a Loss what to do in a Case that was hitherto unprecedented. A long Entry is made in the *Journals* of the House of Lords, relating to this Affair; whereby it appears that the Commons, after much Deliberation, agreed upon this; That a Committee should be appointed to wait upon the Lord Keeper and the Lords of the other House, to know their Opinion of the Matter. This Committee consisted of Sir *Edward Rogers*, Comptroller of the Houshold; Sir *Francis Knolles*, Vice-Chamberlain; Sir *William Cecil*, Chief Secretary; Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*; four of the Chief Members of their House; and twenty more Persons joined with them in Commission. These were to repair to the Lords, to have their Aid and Assistance, both for Intimation of the Affair to her Majesty, and to know her good Pleasure in it. The Lords, after some Consultation, agreed, That the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer of *England*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the

The Parliament meet after many Prorogations.

Proceedings in the Commons, on the Death of their Speaker.

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

Marques of *Northampton*, ſhould be appointed to go along with the four Principals of the other Houſe, being all of the Privy Council, to intimate the Matter to her Majeſty, in the name of both Aſſemblies, and to know her Pleaſure therein.

The Reſult of this was, that, on the ſecond Day of their Meeting, the firſt having been ſpent in the Introduction of ſome young Lords, by the Queen's Writs, a Commiſſion was ſhewed by the Lord Keeper directed to himſelf, under the broad Seal, and was read in the Houſe; importing, That the Queen commanded the ſaid Keeper to call before him all the Members of the other Houſe, and to acquaint them, that her Majeſty's Pleaſure was that they ſhould reſort to their uſual Place, and there to chuſe a new Speaker, after their accuſtomed Manner. Which done, three or four of that Houſe, in the Name of the reſt, were to inform the Queen of their Choice, who then was to appoint a Day when ſhe would have their new Speaker preſented to her for her Approbation. Dated at *Weſtminſter*, *October* 1ſt, in the eighth Year of her Reign. But no more Notice is taken of this Matter in the *Journals* of the Houſe of Lords.

But, in thoſe of the Commons the Matter is carried farther. We are there told, that the Members of that Houſe, by virtue of the Queen's Writ, went upon the Election of a new Speaker. That Sir *Edward Rogers*, Knight, Comptroller of the Houſhold, made a Motion, that whereas *Richard Onſlow*, Eſq; her Majeſty's Solicitor General, was a Member of that Houſe, and yet attended the Houſe of Lords, that they would have him reſtored to them to join in the Election of a Speaker. On which, Notice being ſent to the Lords, the ſaid *Richard Onſlow*, Eſq; was ſent down to them; who endeavoured to ſhew, by his Writ of Attendance, and other Arguments, that he could not ſerve in both Capacities; he was, nevertheleſs, adjudged to be a Member of that Houſe. Mr. Comptroller then named the ſaid Mr. *Onſlow* as their Speaker; who, again, endeavouring to evade it, urged, not only his own Inabilities,

Richard Onſlow, Eſq; elected Speaker.

bilities, but the Oath he had taken to her Majesty; and required them to proceed to a new Election. On this, the House divided, and the Numbers for having him Speaker were eighty-two, against it seventy: So he was placed in the Chair. The next Day, the Queen being come to the House of Lords, and seated on the Throne, the Commons new Speaker was introduced between Sir *Edward Rogers*, Comptroller of the Houshold, and Sir *Francis Knolles*, Vice-Chamberlain. Who, having made the usual Reverences at the Bar, spoke as follows: Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

His Speech to the Queen to be excused from that Office.

'IF it please your Royal Majesty, most virtuous and most excellent Princess, at the humble Suit of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of your Nether House of Parliament, now assembled, was signified from your Majesty, by the Mouth of the Lord Keeper, by force of your Highness's Letters of Commission, your Pleasure and Grant of free Election to the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, to chuse a fit and learned Man, to be their Speaker, instead of *Thomas Williams*, Esq; their late Speaker, whom it hath pleased God to call to his Mercy. For which they have commanded me, in their Names, to render unto your Majesty most humble Thanks; and have commanded and forced me, to my great Grief, to signify to your Majesty, how accordingly they have proceeded to an Election, and chosen and assigned me (as I may say) being most unworthy to speak in this Place, for this Parliament; and for that I would not be obstinate, I am forced to wound myself with their Sword, which Wound yet being green and new, your Majesty being the perfect Physician, may cure in disallowing that which they have allowed; for that, without your Consent it is nothing. And although I, being very loth to trouble your Highness, have made Suit and used all Ways and Means to avoid it, yet could I find no Remedy; and therefore am driven to seek Remedy at your Hands; for, though I have the Experience of their Uprightness, Wisdom and Knowledge,

Queen Elizabeth, 1566.

'which chose me; who, if they would have found 'any Fault in me, I would lightly have believed them; '(notwithstanding that we are for the most Part 'given to think too much of ourselves) but in this 'Day, that they seem to enable me to this Calling, 'whereof I know myself unable, I cannot credit 'them no more than the simple Patient, grievously 'tormented with Sickness, will believe the Physici-'an, nay the whole College of them, if they say 'he hath no Grief, Pain or Sickness. I therefore 'do not attempt this releasing of me for any Ease 'of myself, but would be glad to serve your Maje-'sty, to the uttermost of my Power, in the Office 'of Sollicitorship, whereunto I am appointed, and 'not in this, being unfit for the same; and that 'for divers Causes. For, first, I consider, I have to 'deal with many well learned, the Flower and 'Choice of the Realm, whose deep Understanding 'my Wit cannot attain to reach unto. No, if 'they for great Carefulness would often inculcate it 'into my dull Head, to signify the same unto your 'Highness, yet my Memory is so slippery by Na-'ture and Sickness, that I should likely lose it by 'the Way; yet, if perhaps I kept Part thereof, 'I have no other Knowledge to help myself withal, 'but a little in the Law, far inferior to divers in this 'House; and so should want Learning and Utter-'ance to declare their Meanings, as it requireth; 'especially when I consider your Royal Majesty, 'a Princess endowed with so many Virtues, Learn-'ing and flowing Eloquence, it will abash and a-'stonish me; and therefore finding these Infirmi-'ties, and other in me, I think myself most unwor-'thy of this Place. I trust therefore only in your 'Highness, that you will disallow this Election; 'and the rather, for that by the true Intent of your 'said Letters, it may not be gathered that they 'should elect any of your Majesty's Officers; 'for although the Words be to have their free E-'lection, yet the Law may restrain them in some 'Measure. As for Example, we find in the Law, 'that if it would please your Majesty, to grant

'Licence

'Licence to a Dean and Chapter, to purchaſe to them and their Succeſſors, a hundred Pound yearly; which Words be generally: Yet if the Purchaſed Lands be holden in *Capite*, this Grant is void. And again, if you grant the Fines and Amerciaments of all your Tenants to one, who after chanceth to be Sheriff of a Shire, yet being a Sheriff he cannot have them. So this (me ſeemeth) if it pleaſe your Highneſs ſerveth my Caſe. Another Cauſe is for Want of Subſtance to maintain this my Countenance; but yet your Majeſty's Goodneſs in this Point ſtoppeth my Mouth, for that I have none other Living, but in Manner by you. So for all theſe Conſiderations, and divers others, as it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider, I humbly deſire your Highneſs to diſallow this Election, commanding them to repair again together, and to chuſe another more fit to ſerve the ſame.' Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

Then the Queen called the Lord Keeper, declaring her Opinion in anſwering him, who returning to his Place, ſaid as followeth:

Mr. ONSLOW,

'THE Queen's Majeſty hath heard and well underſtood this diſabling yourſelf to this Office; and doth well perceive your earneſt Suit to be diſcharged of the ſame; and for Anſwer, hath commanded me to ſay, That ſhe doubteth not, but you very well underſtand, that when one is choſen to ſerve the Commonwealth, it is not in him which is called, who hath appointed him thereunto. Alſo, there is an old Similitude, that like as it appertaineth to the Head to diſpoſe every inferior Member in his Place, ſo it pertaineth to the Queen's Majeſty, being the Head, to appoint every one in the Commonwealth. This being Truth, and her Majeſty withal remembring your Fidelity and long Experience in Parliament-Matters, and again being choſen by ſo learned and expert Men, thinketh therefore your Fitneſs needeth not The Lord Keeper approves his Election.

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

'not to be disputed here, and therefore they giving 'unto you such Faith and Credit, according to an an-'tient Custom, she cannot but do the like; and also 'you in disabling yourself have abled yourself, and 'therefore she doth allow and approve this their E-'lection, nothing doubting her Opinion in your 'Ability to serve this Turn.'

Mr. ONSLOW's Answer.

Mr. Onslow's Answer.

'SEeing that it hath pleased your Majesty to rati-'fy this Election, I, to the uttermost of my 'Power, shall serve your Highness and this Com-'monwealth; but first my humble Suit is, That it 'would please your Majesty, to accept my Good-'Will; and, the better to discharge my Duty to-'wards them which have chosen me, that in great 'Matters sent from them, I may have Access to 'your Majesty at Times convenient, as the Weight 'shall require. Secondly, If by Weakness I shall 'mistake the Effect and Meaning of the Matters 'committed to me, by the Knights, Citizens and 'Burgesses, and thereby, against my Will, misreport 'them, that then thereby this Commonwealth 'may take no Detriment; but that I may confer 'again with them, the better to understand their 'Meaning, and so with more Words to utter the 'same unto you: And, I shall pray, as I am 'bound, to God, for your long and prosperous 'Reign over us.'

Then her Majesty called the Lord Keeper, and commanded him to answer him, which he did as followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

The Lord Keeper's Reply.

'THE Queen's Majesty hath heard your hum-'ble Petitions, and Request made unto her, 'the Effect whereof she gathereth to stand in two 'Points: First, For Access to her Person; and, 'secondly, For good Interpretation of your Mean-'ing; and also larger Declarations thereof, if need 'be. For the former, her Highness (as her noble

'Pro-

Progenitors have done) is well contented, that in convenient Time, and for convenient Causes, in convenient Place, and without Importunity, (for that these Parts now touched, have not been afore this Time so well handled, as she now trusteth it shall be) which considered, as free Access she granteth you, as any other hath had. For the second point, because no Man at all Times may do so well, but sometimes Things may be uttered, which may be mis-spoken; for which Cause, in that Time also you shall have her intreatable; but she thinketh your Circumspection to be such as she shall not therein need.' Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

'Now a Word or two to remember you here present of both the Houses; first, This it is that I would advise you in this present Proceeding, to prefer the most weighty Matters first, and not trouble yourselves with small Matters, and of no Weight; and therein also, that all be done to understand the Truth, and to avoid all superfluous Matters, and losing or driving away of Time. Secondly, It is profitable that you, my Lords, and all others that be here, consider that long Time requireth great Expences, and therefore wish you to make Expedition, the rather to avoid the same. And yet not meaning such Expedition, that any Thing needful to be done, should be lightly passed over, and not substantially done, and seen unto; but only I mean that you should settle yourselves wholly to mighty Matters, and those which be necessary, and to spare superfluous Things, and which needed not. And this is the Sum I have to say.'

The Publisher of *D'Ewes's* Journals charges the said *Richard Onslow*, Esq; with omitting, in his Oration to the Queen, the accustomed Claim for Liberty of Speech and Freedom from Arrests for the Commons and their Followers. He seems to atone for it, indeed, by saying, That, perhaps, the Speaker thought those Rights of the House were so evident and unquestionable, that they needed no farther Confirmation.—But this *Editor* appears not to have

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

conſidered, That this was the ſecond Seſſion of a Parliament; that Mr. Solicitor *Onſlow* was elected Speaker upon a Vacancy occaſioned by the Death of *Thomas Williams*, Eſq; And that, as the two Points of Liberty of Speech and Freedom from Arreſts had been, before, claimed by his Predeceſſor in that Office, and allowed by the Queen in the firſt Seſſion; nothing ſeemed, now, neceſſary for him to aſk but ſuch Claims as were Perſonal; which it appears from his Speech, he did not neglect. And this Practice ſeems to have been confirmed by ſubſequent Uſage in like Caſes.

Nothing material happened, in the Houſe of Lords, till the 22d of *October*, when a Committee of Lords were appointed, by that Houſe, to wait upon the Queen, in the Afternoon, to know her Majeſty's Pleaſure. There is no farther Entry made of this Matter for that Day; but, three Days after, the Lord Treaſurer acquainted the Houſe, That the Queen, conſidering his hoary Hairs and old Age, accompanied with heavy Griefs; and, underſtanding the Lord Keeper's ſlow Amendment, had minded to ſupply both their Defects, by appointing Sir *Robert Catlyn*, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, to execute the Office of the ſaid Lord Keeper, in Parliament. And her Majeſty's Letters Patents, for the ſaid Appointment, were read accordingly. We preſume this was the Buſineſs for which the aforeſaid Committee waited on the Queen. The Lord Treaſurer had adjourned the Houſe, from Day to Day, ſince the 5th of *October*, by the Queen's Command; becauſe, as it is entered, the Lord Keeper was fallen ill of the Gout *(c)*, and could not attend his Duty in the Houſe. It ſeems moſt probable, that this was the Reaſon; tho' the Publiſher of *D'Ewes's* Journals hints, That it was on the two great Buſineſſes of the Queen's Marriage and Succeſſion, that this Committee was appointed to wait upon her Majeſty. But no Entry is made, in either *Journals*, to ſupport this Conjecture, at that Time.

October

(c) Podagræ Morbo laboravit. Journ. Procer.

October the 26th, a Bill was read the first Time, by the Lords, declaring the Manner of making and consecrating Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm, to be good, lawful and perfect. The same Day it is entered, that the Lords, after deliberate Consultation and Advice taken, how to provide in the great Matter of Succession and Marriage, which had been intimated to them from the House of Commons, did come to this Resolution, to send Serjeant *Carus* and Mr. *Attorney* down to them to notify, That there would be a Member of their House chosen and sent to them, to take their Opinion in this Affair. Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

On the 30th, another Committee of Lords was appointed for a Conference with a select Number of the Lower House, touching a Petition to be made to the Queen's Majesty, both for the Succession and the Marriage. This Committee consisted of these Lords following; the Archbishop of *York*, the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Northampton*; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, *Sussex*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, and *Leicester*; the Viscounts *Montague* and *Byndon*; the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain; the Lords *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Gray*, *Wentworth*, *Windsor*, *Rich*, *Sheffield*, *Paget*, *North*, *Hastings* of *Loughborough*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*. A Committee of both Houses appointed to petition the Queen about her Marriage.

The Committee of the Commons, for managing this Conference, is also entred in the Lords *Journals*, whose Names were,

Sir *Edw. Rogers*, Knt.
Sir *Francis Knolles*, Knt.
Sir *William Cecil*, Knt.
Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Knt.
Sir *William Petre*, Knt.
Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Knt.
Sir *Walt Mildmay*, Knt.
all of her Majesty's Privy Council.
Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Knt. Master of the Rolls.
Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*.
Sir *Morris Berkley*.
Sir *Peter Carew*.
Sir *John Chichester*.
Sir *Thomas Gargrave*.
Sir *Henry Nevile*.
Sir *Thomas Arnold*.

Sir

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Sir *Harry Aſhley.*	Mr Recorder of *London.*
Sir *John Pollard.*	Mr *Francis Fleetwood.*
Sir *John Perrot.*	Mr *Montgomery.*
Sir *Gabriel Carew.*	Mr *Thomas Fleetwood.*
Sir *Thomas Gerrard.*	Mr *Bartue.*
Sir *William Cheſter.*	Mr *Ambrey.*
Sir *John White.*	Mr *Haddon.*
Sir *John St Leger.*	Mr *Edward Leighton.*
Sir *John Conſtable.*	Mr *Young.*
Sir——*Haſtings.*	Mr *Charles Howard.*
Sir *John Moore.*	Mr *Alford.*
Sir *John Southwark.*	Mr *Harry Knolles*, ſen.
Sir *John Thinne.*	Mr *Haſſel.*
Sir *John Turpine.*	Mr *Hawtrey.*
Sir *Henry Gates.*	Mr *John Haſtings.*
Sir *Robert Wingfield.*	Mr *Aſhley* of the Jewel-House.
Sir *Henry Cheney.*	
Sir *Arth-Chapman*, Knts.	Mr *Cooley.*
Mr *Sechford.*	Mr *William Moore.*
Mr *Bell.*	Mr *Hilliar.*
Mr *Monſon.*	Mr Knight Marſhal.
Mr *Dalton.*	Mr *Robert Mannors.*
Mr *Colbie.*	Mr *Barham.*
Mr *Kingſmill.*	Mr *Francis Newdigate.*
Mr *Molineux.*	Mr *Warnecombe.*
Mr *Marſh.*	Mr *Francis Brown.*
Mr *Pratt.*	Mr *Dunch.*
Mr *Northton.*	Mr *Withers.*
Mr *Wray.*	Mr *Robert Bowles.*
Mr *Sandys.*	Mr *Wilſon.*

The *Journals* only tell us, that on the 5th Day of *November* the ſame Committee of Lords, and th rty of the Houſe of Commons, were appointed to wait upon her Majeſty, by her own ſpecial Command. But no Account is given in theſe Records, of what was done at the Conference, or what Anſwer her Majeſty gave to this Committee of Parliament. Hiſtory, however, is not ſo ſilent about it; Mr *Cambden* informs us *(d)*, that the Queen of *Scots* was juſt then delivered of a Son, and that Queen *Elizabeth* ſecretly envied her Rival the Honour

(d) Cambden in Kennet, p. 399.

nour of being a Mother before her. Yet did ſhe make no Haſte to follow her Example; and this determined the *Engliſh* Parliament to ſolicit *Elizabeth* ſtrongly about Marriage, or to ſettle the Succeſſion. The *Papiſts*, on one hand, were big with Hopes to have it ſettled in the Queen of *Scots*, and her Iſſue; whilſt the *Proteſtants*, on the other, were much divided about a Succeſſor, ſome for one Perſon, ſome for another; every one foreboding ſad and troubleſome Times, ſhould the Queen die before this important Point was eſtabliſhed. Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

The Perſons who pretended to have a Title to the Crown, and had their ſeveral Abettors, beſides the Queen of *Scots*, were the Counteſs of *Lenox*, a Daughter of *Margaret* of *England*, by *Archibald Douglaſs*, Earl of *Angus*, her ſecond Husband. *Catherine* Counteſs of *Hertford*, the Daughter and Coheir of *Henry Grey*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, and *Frances* his Wife the eldeſt Daughter and Coheir of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary* the *French* Queen, youngeſt Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh. Theſe ſeveral Claims muſt make the Nation very uneaſy at that Time; ſince, without ſettling the Succeſſion, the ſingle Life of the Queen, only, ſtop'd the Door againſt many Troubles which might enſue by her Death. For this Reaſon the Lords now thought proper to join with the Commons in an Addreſs to her Majeſty. What the Debates at the Conference were, does not appear in either Journal; but *Cambden* aſſures us, that the Heats and Clamours were ſo great, in the Debates of both Houſes, about this Affair, that they roundly taxed the Queen with a Diſregard to her Country and Poſterity. The People were no leſs warm, on the Occaſion, without Doors; ſome defamed *Cecil* the Secretary, with ſlanderous Libels, calling him a pernicious Councellor; whilſt others curſed the Queen's Phyſician, Dr *Huic*, as having diſſuaded the Queen from marrying, on Account, and in Pretence of ſome ſupernatural Impediment or Defect in her.

In

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

In the Houſe of Lords, the Peers that ſpoke the moſt in this Debate were, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leiceſter*; the Duke of *Norfolk* alſo, but more cautiouſly, joined the others Opinion, that the Queen ought to be obliged to take a Husband; or that a Succeſſor ſhould be declared by Act of Parliament, even againſt her Will. But they were forced to make Submiſſion for this, and had their Pardon. However, the whole Houſe came to a Reſolution, to draw up an Addreſs to her Majeſty, to be deliver'd by their Speaker, the Lord Keeper *Bacon*; which Addreſs, or Petition, at large, is preſerved by *Cambden*, with the Queen's Anſwer to it; and though prolix enough, and full of ſtrange Arguments, yet muſt they both find Places in theſe Enquires.

The Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to her Majeſty, upon the two great Matters of Marriage and Succeſſion, deliver'd by the Lord Keeper in Parliament, Nov. 10, 1566.

An Addreſs from the Lords on that Subject.

MOST humbly beſeecheth your excellent Majeſty, your faithful, loving and obedient Subjects, all your Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled in Parliament in your Upper Houſe; to be ſo much their good Lady and Sovereign, as according to your accuſtom'd Benignity, to grant a gracious and favourable Hearing to their Petitions and Suits, which with all Humbleneſs and Obedience, they are come hither to preſent to your Majeſty by my Mouth, in Matters very nearly and dearly touching your moſt Royal Perſon, the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, and univerſal Weal of the ſame; which Suits, for that they tend to the Surety and Preſervation of theſe three Things, your Perſon, Crown, and Realm, the deareſt Jewel that my Lords have in the Earth; therefore they think themſelves, for divers Reſpects, greatly bound to make theſe Petitions; as firſt by their Duty to God, then by their Allegiance to your Highneſs, and laſtly by the Faith they ought to bear to their natural Country. And like as, moſt gracious Sovereign,

vereign, by these Bonds they should have been bound to make the like Petition, upon like Occasion, to any Prince that it should have pleased God to have appointed to reign over them; so they think themselves doubly bound to make the same to your Majesty, considering that besides the Bond beforemention'd, they stand also bound so to do, by the great and manifold Benefits they have and do receive daily at your Highness's Hands; which, shortly to speak, be as great as the Fruits of Peace, common Quiet and Justice can give; and this with great Care and Charge to yourself. And thus my Lords diversly bound, as your Majesty hath heard, are now to open to your Highness their humble Petitions and Suits, consisting in two Points chiefly; which not sundrily, or the one without the other, but both jointly they desire your Highness to assent to: The former is, that it would please your Majesty to dispose yourself to marry, where it shall please you, with whom it shall please you, and as soon as it shall please you. The second, that some such Limitation might be made, how the Imperial Crown of this Realm should remain, if God call your Highness without Heir of your Body, (which our Lord defend) so as these Lords and Nobles, and other your Subjects then living, might sufficiently understand to whom they should owe their Allegiance and Duty, due to be done by Subjects; and that they might, by your Majesty's Licence, and with your Favour, treat and confer together this Parliament-time, for the well doing of this. The former of these two, which is your Marriage, they do in their Hearts most earnestly wish and pray, as a Thing that must needs breed and bring great and singular Comfort to yourself, and unspeakable Joy and Gladness to all true *English* Hearts. But the second carrieth with it such Necessity, that without it they cannot see how the Safety of your Royal Person, the Preservation of your Imperial Crown and Realm, shall be, or can be sufficiently and certainly provided for. Most gracious and sovereign Lady, the lamentable and pitiful State and Condi- Queen Elizabeth, 1566.

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

tion, wherein all your Nobles and Councellors of late were, when it pleaſed God to lay his heavy Hand upon you, and the Amazedneſs that moſt Men of Underſtanding were by the Fruit of that Sickneſs brought into, is one Cauſe of this their Petition; the ſecond, the Aptneſs and Opportunity of the Time, by reaſon of this Parliament, whereby both ſuch Advice, Conſideration and Conſent, as is requiſite in ſo great and weighty a Cauſe, may be better heard and uſed, than, at any other Time when no Parliament is. The third, for that the aſſenting and performing of theſe Petitions, cannot, as they think, but breed great Terror to our Enemies, and therefore muſt of Neceſſity bring great Surety to your Perſon; and eſpecially by Addition of ſuch Laws, as may be join'd with this Limitation, for a certain and ſure obſerving it, and preſerving of your Majeſty againſt all Practices and Chances. The fourth Cauſe, for that the like (as it is ſuppoſed) hath been done by divers of your noble Progenitors, both of old Time and of late Days; and alſo by other Princes your Neighbours, of the greateſt Eſtate in *Europe*; and for that Experience hath taught, that Good hath come of it. The fifth, for that it appeareth by Hiſtories, how that in Times paſt, Perſons inheritable to Crowns being Votaries and Religious, to avoid ſuch Dangers as might have happen'd for Want of Succeſſion to Kingdoms, have left their Vows and Monaſteries, and taken themſelves to Marriage; as *Conſtantia* a Nun, Heir to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, married after fifty Years of Age, to *Henry* VI. Emperor of that Name, and had Iſſue *Frederick* II. And likewiſe *Peter* of *Arragon*, being a Monk, married, the better to eſtabliſh and pacify that Kingdom. Again, *Antoninus Pius* is as much commended, for that not two Days before his Death, he ſaid to his Council, *læto animo morior, quoniam filium vobis relinquo.* *Pyrrhus* is of all godly Men deteſted, for ſaying he would leave his Realm to him that had the ſharpeſt Sword. What but Want of a Succeſſor known, made an End of ſo great an Empire as *Alexander*

the

the Great did leave at his Death? The ſixth Cauſe is, for that my Lords do judge, the performing of this will breed ſuch an univerſal Gladneſs in the Hearts of all your true and loving Subjects, that likely and probably you ſhall find them in all Commandments ready and glad to adventure their Goods, Lands and Lives in your Service, according to their bounden Duties; which of Neceſſity muſt breed great Surety to your Majeſty. The ſeventh Cauſe, becauſe the not doing of this, (if God ſhould call your Highneſs without Heir of your Body, which God grant never be ſeen, if it be his Will) and yet your Majeſty right well knoweth, that Princes and their Offspring, be they never ſo great, never ſo ſtrong, never ſo like to live, be yet mortal, and ſubject every Day, yea every Hour, to God's Call; my Lords think, this happening, and no Limitation made, cannot, by their Judgments, but be the Occaſion of very evident and great Danger and Peril to all Eſtates and Sorts of Men of this Realm, by the Factions, Seditions, and inteſtine War, that will grow, for Want of Underſtanding to whom they ſhould yield Allegiance and Duty; whereby much innocent Blood is moſt like to be ſhed, and many of thoſe to loſe their Lives that now would gladly beſtow them for your Sake, in your Majeſty's Service. The eighth, for that the not performing of this, the other happening, doth leave the Realm without Government, which is the greateſt Danger that can happen to any Kingdom; for every Prince, is *Anima Legis*, and ſo reputed in Law, and therefore upon the Death of Princes the Law dies; all the Offices of Juſtice whereby the Laws are to be executed, do ceaſe; all Writs and Commandments to call Parties to the Execution of Juſtice, do hang in Suſpenſe; all Commiſſions for the Peace, and for the Puniſhment of Offenders, do determine and loſe their Force; whereby it followeth conſequently, that Strength and Will muſt rule, and neither Law nor Reaſon, during ſuch a Vacation and Inter Reign; wherein ſuch an Incertainty of Succeſſion is like to laſt ſo

Queen Elizabeth, 1566.

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

long, as it is to be feared (if God's Mercy be not the greater) that thereby we may become a Prey to Strangers, (which our Lord defend) or at leaſt loſe the great Honour and Eſtimation that long time hath pertained to us. And like as, moſt gracious Sovereign, my Lords have been moved for the worldly Reſpect aforeſaid, to make their humble Petitions to your Majeſty; ſo by the Examples, Counſels, yea and Commandments, that they have heard out of the ſacred Scriptures, and for Conſcience-ſake they feel themſelves conſtrain'd, and enforced to do the like. God, your Highneſs knoweth, by the Courſe of the Scriptures, hath declared Succeſſion and having of Children to be one of the principle Benedictions in this Life; and on the contrary, he hath pronounced contrarywiſe: And therefore *Abraham* pray'd to God for Iſſue, fearing that *Eliazar*, his Steward, ſhould have been his Heir; and had Promiſe that Kings ſhould proceed of his Body. *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, prayed to God with Tears for Iſſue: And *Elizabeth*, (whoſe Name your Majeſty beareth) Mother to *John* the Baptiſt, was joyful when God had bleſſed her with Fruit, accounting herſelf thereby to be delivered from Reproach. And as this is a Bleſſing in private Houſes, ſo is it much more in Kingdoms, as it plainly appeareth in the two Kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*. Unto the Kingdom of *Judah*, containing but two Tribes, or thereabouts, God gave lineal Succeſſion by Deſcent of Kings; and therefore they continued a long Time. The Kingdom of *Iſrael*, containing ten Tribes, or thereabouts, often deſtitute of lawful Heirs, the one half of the People following the one, and the other half following the other, by Wars and Seditions weaken'd, came ſoon to Ruin, as plainly appeareth by the third and fourth Book of Kings. And again, in the Time of the Judges, becauſe there was no ordinary Succeſſion, the People were oftentimes overcome, and carried into Captivity. Beſides, it is plain, by the Scriptures, that godly Governours and Princes (as Fathers of their Countries) have always been careful to avoid the

the great Evil that might enſue, through Want of Limitation of Succeſſion; therefore *Moſes* did enjoin *Joſhua* to be his Succeſſor; and *David* his Son *Solomon*; whereby a Sedition was appeaſed, begotten by *Adonijah*: Of this there be many Examples. Farther, ſeeing it may be eaſily gathered by Experience of all Ages paſt, that Civil Wars, Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, and conſequently Ruins of Kingdoms do follow, where Realms be left without a Certainty of Succeſſion; and your Majeſty is alſo inform'd of the ſame, and ſued unto for Redreſs: If therefore now no ſufficient Remedy ſhould be by your Highneſs provided, that then it ſhould be a dangerous Burden, before God, to your Majeſty, and you were to yield a ſtrict Account to God for the ſame; conſidering you are placed, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſaith, *in altiſſimo Speculo* of this Commonwealth, and ſee the Sword coming, and provide no Remedy for the Defence of it. Laſtly, The Spirit of God pronounceth, by the Mouth of St. *Paul*, to *Timothy*, That *whoſoever maketh no due Proviſion for his Family, is in very great Danger to God-ward*; and alſo by the Mouth of St. *John*, That *whoſoever ſeeth but one Brother in Neceſſity, and doth ſhut up the Bowels of Pity and Compaſſion from him, hath not the Love of God remaining in him*: Whereby it is plain and manifeſt, how fearful a Thing it were, if this whole Realm, containing ſo many Families, were not, in a perilous Caſe, upon their Suit provided for; or if the Bowels of Mercy ſhould be ſhut up from ſo many Thouſands, which every Way were like to fall into moſt extreme Miſeries, if God ſhould call your Highneſs without Certainty of Succeſſion; which we pray to God may never happen. Moſt excellent Princeſs, the Places of Scripture containing the ſaid Threatnings, be ſet forth with more ſharp Words than be here expreſſed. Thus, moſt gracious Sovereign, your Lords and Nobles, both Spiritual and Temporal, have, as briefly as they can, firſt ſhewed to your Majeſty, how diverſly they take themſelves bound, to make theſe their humble Petitions unto you; and

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Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

then what their Petitions be; and after that what Reaſons for wordly Reſpects, and what by the Scriptures, and for Conſcience-Sake, have mov'd them thus to do; which here upon their Knees, according to their bounden Duty, they moſt humbly and earneſtly pray your Majeſty to have Conſideration of in Time; and to give them ſuch favourable and comfortable Anſwer to the ſame, that ſome good Effect and Concluſion may grow before the End of the Seſſion of this Parliament, the uttermoſt Day of their greateſt Hope, whereby this Commonwealth, which your Highneſs found to be *Lateritia*, as *Auguſtus* did his, and by your great Providence is now come to be *Marmorea*, ſhall not for Want of performing this, if God ſhall call your Highneſs without Heir of your Body, be in more dangerous Eſtate and Condition, than ever it was that any Man can remember. True it is, that this Suit is made by my Lords, not without great Hope of good Succeſs, by reaſon of the Experience that they have had of your bountiful Goodneſs ſhewed to them, and the reſt of your loving Subjects, divers and ſundry Ways, ſince the Beginning of your Reign; which they pray God long to continue, to his Honour, with all Felicity.'

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

The Queen's Anſwer.

SInce there can be no duer Debt than a Prince's Word, to keep that unſpotted, for my Part, as one that would be loth that the ſelf-ſame Thing that keepeth Merchants Credit from Craze, ſhould be the Cauſe that a Prince's Speech ſhould merit Blame, and ſo their Honour quail; therefore I will an Anſwer give, and this it is: The two Petitions that you preſented me (which muſt doubtleſs relate to the two ſeveral Parts of one and the ſame Petition, viz. *the Marriage and the Succeſſion, and might not improperly be ſo called tho' couch'd in one Body, and as the Words alſo following do in Manner explain it) expreſs'd many Words which contain'd in Sum theſe two Things, as of your Cares the greateſt, my Marriage and my Succeſſion.*

Of

Of which two I think the last best to be touch'd, and of the other a silent Thought may serve. For, I thought it had been so desir'd, as none other Trees Blossom should have been minded, or ever any Hope of any Fruit had been denied you. And yet by the Way, if any here doubt, that I am, by Vow or Determination, bent never to trade in that Kind of Life, put out that Kind of Heresie; for your Belief is therein awry. For tho' I can think it best for a private Woman, yet I do strive with myself not to think it meet for a Prince; and if I can bend my Liking to your Need, I will not resist such a Mind. Queen Elizabeth, 1566.

But, to the last, think not that you had needed this Desire, if I had seen a Time so fit, and it so ripe to be denounced. The Greatness of the Cause, therefore, and Need of your Returns, doth make me say that which I think the Wise may easily guess, that as a short Time for so long Continuance, ought not to pass by roat, as many tell their Tales; even so, as Cause by Conference with the Learned shall shew me Matter worth the Utterance for your Behoof, so shall I more gladly pursue your Good, after my Days, than with all my Prayers, whilst I live, be Means to linger my living Thread. And thus, much more than I thought, will I add for your Comfort: I have good Record in this Place, that other Means than you mention, have been thought of, perchance for your Good, as much as for my Surety, no less; which, if presently and conveniently could have been executed, it had not been now deferr'd or overslipped. But I hope I shall die in Quiet with Nunc Dimittis; *which cannot be, without I see some Glimpse of your following Surety, after my graved Bones.*

The House of Lords having received this Answer to their Address, were, seemingly, satisfied; but the Commons were much hotter in the Affair; and, as *Cambden* writes, *Dutton*, *Wentworth* and other Members of that House, such as *Bell* and *Monson*, great Lawyers, grated hard on the Queen's Royal Prerogative. They mantained, amongst other Points, 'That Kings are bound to appoint a Successor; Which is not satisfactory, and occasions great Debates.

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'that the Affection of the Subject is the moſt impregnable Bulwark and Support of the Prince; 'but that Princes can gain this Affection no otherwiſe, than by providing for the Welfare of their 'Subjects, both whilſt after they live and after 'their Death. And which can by no Means be 'done, but where 'tis certainly known who ſhall 'ſucceed to the Throne. That the Queen, by 'not appointing a Succeſſor, did at once provoke 'the Wrath of God and alienate the Hearts of her 'People. Whereas, would ſhe poſſeſs the Affections of her Subjects, and the Favour of God, 'and live for ever in the Remembrance of her Peo'ple, ſhe muſt of Courſe nominate a Succeſſor. 'If not, ſhe would be rather a Step-Mother of her 'Country, or ſomething worſe, than the Nurſing-'Mother thereof; as being, ſeemingly, deſirous 'that *England*, which lived as it were in her, ſhould 'rather expire with than ſurvive or out-laſt her. 'That none but timorous Princes, or ſuch as were 'hated by their People, or faint-hearted Women, 'did ever ſtand in Fear of their Succeſſors; nor 'can that Prince, with any Reaſon, apprehend 'Dangers from a Succeſſor, who is fortified and 'ſecured by the Love and Duty of his Subjects.'

The Queen highly reſents it;

The Queen being made acquainted with the Boldneſs of theſe Speeches, it gave her no little Concern, for the preſent, tho' ſhe ſeemed to overlook it. She knew very well the Hazard of naming and appointing a Succeſſor, by her own Experience; the Secrets of her late Siſter's Bed-Chamber, having been brought immediately to her, by thoſe who had a Mind to worſhip the riſing Sun. However, the Points above-mentioned being ſtill inſiſted on, with much Heat and great Inſolence; and the Members ſo audacious as to back their Pertneſs with Invectives and Abuſes, the Queen was reſolved to put a Stop to theſe Proceedings. Accordingly, her Majeſty commanded thirty Members of the Lower Houſe, as is mentioned in the *Journals*, along with the Committee of Lords, to make their Appearance before her. On their coming to her, ſhe endea-

'voured

voured first to smooth and qualify their Minds by many obliging Expressions; but, afterwards gave them a smart Reproof, in which, however, she mixed some Sweetness with Majesty. She promised them to manage Things not only with the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderness of a Parent; by which Means she diverted them from their Resolution. And, because the Parliament had offered greater Subsidies than usual, on Condition she would declare a Successor, she utterly refused that extraordinary Supply, and accepted of a much smaller Sum. Abating the Receipt of the fourth Part of the Money so granted; and telling them, after commending their Regard for her, *That Money in her Subjects Purse, was as good as in her own Exchequer.* Queen Elizabeth, 1566.

This is the Substance of what the Historian writes of this Matter; as, indeed, it is also of what we find in the *Journals* of the Commons, about it: Except that two Inhibitions were sent to that House, by the Queen, expressly forbidding them to proceed in that Affair any farther. This occasioned a Motion to be made, by *Paul Wentworth*, Esq. to know whether the Queen's Commands and Inhibition were not against the Liberties and Privileges of the House? On which nice Question, the Debates, aforementioned, were grounded. Many Arguments ensued upon this; and the Debate lasted from Nine in the Morning, *November* 11th, till Two in the Afternoon. Next Day the Speaker was again sent for to Court; who reported to the House, 'That he had received a special Command from 'the Queen, that there should be no farther Talk 'of that Matter; and if any Person thought himself not satisfied, and had further Reasons, let him 'come and shew them before the Privy Council.' And forbids any farther Proceedings on that Subject.

But we find that some Time after, *November* 25th, the Speaker, coming again from her Majesty, declared to the House, 'That for the Good-Will 'she bore to them, she did revoke her two former 'Commandments; but desired the House to pro'ceed no further in the Matter at that time.' Which Revocation, says the *Journal*, was taken by

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by the Houſe moſt joyfully; with moſt hearty Prayer and Thanks for the ſame.—In this Diſpoſition, however, the Queen continued all her Life; ſhe would never ſuffer an Act of Parliament to be made to ſettle the Succeſſion; as very well knowing that, after her, it would ſettle itſelf, and the Crown devolve, as ſhe afterwards expreſſed on her Death-Bed, to her Couſin the King of *Scots*.

The Supply was moved in the Houſe of Commons, *October* 17th, by Mr. Comptroller *Rogers*, and ſeconded by Secretary *Cecil*; who declared, 'That it was to defray the Queen's Charges at '*Newhaven*, the Navy, and the Munitions againſt '*John O Neyle*, in *Ireland*.'

This Bill was ſent up to the Lords, on the 17th Day of *December*, read a firſt Time in the Afternoon of the ſame Day, and paſſed that Houſe on the 18th. The Grant was one *Fifteenth*, one *Tenth*, and a *Subſidy*; a Subſidy from the Clergy had been confirmed by Parliament ſome Days before *(i)*. Part of this Tax, as our learned Author writes, the Queen remitted; as not caring to lie under too high an Obligation to her Parliament, conſidering ſhe was reſolved not to oblige them, either in taking a Husband herſelf, or declaring a Succeſſor to the Crown.

A Subſidy.

An Act paſſed declaring the Validity of the Engliſh Ordination.

Mr. *Cambden*, takes Notice but of one Act that paſſed this Seſſion, tho' the Liſt in the Lord's *Journals* mention the Titles of thirty-four. Indeed, there are few or none of them hiſtorical enough to be taken Notice of, in this Place, except an Act, declaring 'the Election, Conſecration, Confirma-'tion and Inſtallment of the Archbiſhops and Bi-'ſhops of *England*, to be good and lawful; and 'that the ſaid Biſhops were elected and conſecrated 'duly, and according to the Laws of the Land.' But this Act did not paſs the Houſe of Lords unanimouſly; for on the third Reading of the Bill, *November* 6th, we find that the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Worceſter* and *Suſſex*; the Viſcount *Montague*; the Barons *Morley*, *Dudley*, *Dacre*,

(i) This was 4 s. in the Pound, to be paid in three Years.

Dacre, *Monteagle*, *Cromwell* and *Mordaunt*, protested againſt it. We may ſuppoſe that this ſmall Number of Peers was all the Strength the *Popiſh* Party had then in the Houſe; and that the Biſhops were all ſteady and unanimous in ſupporting their own Creations. But tho' the *Romaniſts* were weak amongſt the Repreſentatives of the Nation, yet in the Body of it their Power was very ſtrong. In order to ſubvert the *Proteſtant* Religion, they ſtruck at the very Fundamentals of that Prieſthood, by aſſerting, boldly, That the Ordination of their Biſhops was falſe and counterfeit; not being able to prove a regular Succeſſion from the Apoſtolic Times. This Diſpute has laſted even down to our own Time: But a famous *French* Prieſt *(k)*, ſome few Years ago, cleared up that Point, in Behalf of the *Engliſh* Clergy; and has ſet the infamous Story of the *Nag's-Head* Conſecration, entirely aſide. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, however, the Diſpute was ended by an Act of Parliament, which not only declared, as above, but by it was enacted, 'That both the preſent Biſhops, and all ſuch as ſhould be hereafter conſecrated, were to be deemed truly and lawfully ſuch, any former Law, or Canon, to the contrary, notwithſtanding *(l)*.' Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

Amongſt the Acts paſſed this Seſſion not mentioned in the printed *Statutes*, the following are moſt remarkable;

'An Act for taking the Benefit of the Clergy from certain felonious Offenders.' Other Acts.

'An Act for the Corporation of Merchant-Adventurers, for the diſcovering of new Trade.'

'An Act for the Confirmation of Letters Patents granted to the Merchant-Adventurers of the City of *Briſtol*.'

'An Act confirming the Queen's Letters Patents concerning the Making of Alum and Coperas, within her Realms and Dominions.'

'An Act for the making Salt in the ſame, *&c.*

In

(k) Father *Le Courayer*, Canon of St. *Genevieve* at *Paris*.

(l) *Statutes at large*, *An.* Eliz. *Reg.* 8. C. 1.

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In this Seſſion a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords, and read twice, 'That no Man kil-'ling any Perſon at, what is called in the *Journals* 'x xii Pricks, or longer Mark, ſhall forfeit his Goods 'or Chatels *(m)*.' Which Bill, becauſe it touched the Queen's Prerogative, it was thought convenient to proceed in it no farther, till her Majeſty's Pleaſure was known therein. But we hear no more of it.

Laſtly, an Act for a free and general Pardon, as was in every Parliament of this Reign, was paſſed.

The Bills being all ready, after a ſhort Adjournment, from the 30th of *December*, to the 2d of *January*; on that Day, the Queen came, by Water, from *Whitehall*, as was her uſual Cuſtom, and landed on the Back-Side of the Parliament Chamber. 'After which being apparel'd in her Parliament-Robes, with a Caul on her Head, ſhe came forth, and proceeded up and took her Seat; the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, carrying the Cap of Maintenance, ſtood on her Right Hand, and the Earl of *Weſtmorland* the Sword at her Left Hand, with the Heralds and Serjeants at Arms before her; the Queen's Mantle born upon either Side from her Arms, by the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Lord *Hunſdon*, who always ſtood ſtill by her for the aſſiſting thereof, when ſhe ſtood up; her Train born by the Lady *Strange*, aſſiſted by the Lord Chamberlain, and Vice-Chamberlain. At the Left Hand of the Queen, and South Side, kneeled the Ladies; and behind the Queen, at the Rail, ſtood the Lord Keeper on the Right Hand, the Lord Treaſurer on the Left Hand, with divers young Lords and Peers eldeſt Sons.

'Then all being placed, Mr. *Onſlow* the Speaker was brought in, between Sir *Francis Knolles* Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir *Ambroſe Cave* Chancellor of the Dutchy; and after Reverence done, proceeded down to the Wall, and from thence came up to the Rail, in the Way making three Reverences; and ſtanding there, made other three like Reverences, and then began his Oration, as followeth:

Moſt

(m) We ſuppoſe this was ſhooting with Bow and Arrow.

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

Moſt excellent and virtuous Princeſs, &c.

The Speaker's Oration to the Queen, at the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

'WHERE I have been elected by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of this your Nether Houſe, to be their Mouth, or Speaker, and thereunto appointed and allowed by Your Majeſty, to ſupply the ſame Room, to the bewraying of my Wants; eſpecially, that thereby I ſhall be forced utterly to diſcover the Barrenneſs of my Learning before this noble Aſſembly which not a little grieveth me, and would gladly be excuſed, conſidering the true Saying, How there is no Difference between a wiſe Man and a Fool, if they may keep Silence; which I require. But, again, conſidering your Majeſty's Clemency, taking in good Part the Goodwill of the Party for Want of Ability, which putteth me in Remembrance and good Hope,, perſuading me that you will not take your ſaid Clemency from me contrary to your Nature.

'Again, when I conſider my Office as Speaker, it is no great Matter, being but a Mouth, to utter Things appointed me to ſpeak unto you, and not otherwiſe; which conſiſteth only in ſpeaking, and not in any other Knowledge; whereby I gather how it is neceſſary, I ſpeak ſimply and plainly, according to the Truth and Truſt repoſed in me. And thus, conſidering whoſe Mouth I am, which choſe me to ſpeak for them, being the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, who were not alſo by the Commons choſen for their Eloquence, but for their Wiſdom and Diſcretion; by this Means, being fit Men to whom the Commons have committed the Care and Charge of themſelves, Wives and Children, Lands and Goods; and ſo in their Behalf to foreſee, and take Order for all Things neceſſary. Thus they being choſen by the plain Commons, it is neceſſary they elect a plain Speaker, fit for the plain Matter, and therefor we provided at firſt to have ſuch a one as ſhould uſe plain Words, and not either ſo fine that they can-

not

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

'not be underſtood, or elſe ſo eloquent, that now 'and then they miſs the Cuſhion.

'But now, upon Occaſion of beholding your 'Grace and this noble Aſſembly, I conſider the 'manifold and great Benefits, which God ſuddenly 'hath ſent unto this Country; for, although God 'hath granted the Benefit of Creation and Conſer-'vation, with many other Commodities, to other 'Nations of the World, yet this our Native Coun-'try he hath bleſſed, not only with the like, but 'alſo with much more Fruitfulneſs than any other; 'of which great and ineſtimable Benefit of God's 'Preferment, which appeareth better by the Want 'that others have of the ſame, I am occaſioned 'now to ſpeak, the rather to move and ſtir up our 'Hearts, to give moſt hearty Thanks to God for 'the ſame.

'Now to ſpeak of Government by Succeſſion, 'Election, Religion or Policy; firſt, If the Body 'ſhould want a Head, it were a great Monſter; 'ſo it is likewiſe if it have many Heads, as if upon 'every ſeveral Member were a Head. And to 'ſpeak of one Head; although in the Body be ſeve-'ral Members, which be made of Fleſh, Bones, Si-'news and Joints, yet the one Head thereof govern-'eth wiſely the ſame; which if it ſhould want, 'we ſhould be worſe than wild Beaſts, without a 'Shepherd, and ſo worthily be called a monſtrous 'Beaſt.

'Again, If the Body ſhould be governed by 'many Heads, then the ſame would ſoon come to 'Deſtruction, hy reaſon of the Controverſy amongſt 'them, who would never agree, but be deſtroyed 'without any Foreign Invaſion; therefore God 'ſeeth it is needful that the People have a King, 'and therefore a King is granted them; and ſo 'therefore the beſt Government is to be ruled by 'one King, and not many, who may maintain and 'cheriſh the Good and Godly, and puniſh the Un-'godly and Offenders.

'As for Government by Election, in that is 'great Variance, particularly, Strifes and Part-tak-

'ings.

'ings. As for Examples, amongſt the reſt, take Queen Elizabeth. 1566.
'out one, which is called the Moſt Holy, as that
'of the Pope; and weigh how holily and quietly
'it is done, called indeed holy and quiet, but utter-
'ly unholy and unquiet, with great Part-takings
'and Strifes.

'Now touching Religion. To ſee the Divine
'Providence of God, how that many Nations be
'governed by one Prince; which were impoſſible,
'but that God ordereth it ſo, by whom the Or-
'der of Regimen is appointed, and that in his
'Scriptures; wherefore the Subjects ought to obey
'the ſame, yea although they were evil, and much
'more thoſe that be good. So God hath here ap-
'pointed us not a Heathen, or unbelieving Prince
'as he might, but a faithful, and one of his own
'Children, to govern us his Children: In which
'Government the Prince ſerveth God two Ways;
'as a Man, and as a King. In that he is a Man,
'he ought to live and ſerve God, as one of his
'good Creatures; and that he is a King, and ſo
'God's ſpecial Creature, he ought to make Laws
'whereby God may be truly worſhiped, and that
'his Subjects might do no Injury one to another,
'and eſpecially to make Quietneſs amongſt the
'Miniſters of the Church; to extinguiſh and put
'away all hurtful and unprofitable Ceremonies, in
'any Caſe contrary to God's Word: In which
'Point, we have, in your Majeſty's Behalf, great
'Thanks to give unto God, in ſetting forth unto us
'the Liberty of God's Word, whereof before we
'were bereaved, and that you have reformed the
'State of the corrupt Church, now drawing Souls
'out of dangerous Errors, which afore by that
'Corruption they were led and brought unto.

'And concerning Policy, God hath committed
'to your Highneſs two Swords; the one of which
'may be called the Sword of War, to puniſh out-
'ward Enemies withal; and the other the Sword
'of Juſtice, to correct offending Subjects. In
'which Point of Policy, Your Majeſty is not behind
'your Progenitors; for although, at your Entrance,

'you

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

'you found this Realm in War, and ungarnished 'with Munition, and that with such Store as never 'was before; yet you have dislodged our antient 'Enemies which were planted and placed even 'upon the Walls of this Realm. And concerning 'Policy in Laws, as Bones, Sinews and Joints be 'to the Force of a natural Body, so are good Laws 'to the Strength of a Commonwealth: And your [illegible] consisting of two Points, the Common 'Laws, and the Statutes.

'And for the Common Law, it is so grounded on 'God's Laws and Nature's, that three several Nations governing here have all allowed the same; 'which is not inferior, but rather superior, and more 'indifferent than any other Law. For, by our 'Common Law, although there be for the Prince 'provided many Princely Prerogatives and Royalties; yet it is not such, as the Prince can take 'Money, or other Things, or do as he will, at his 'own Pleasure, without Order: But quietly to 'suffer his Subjects to enjoy their own, without 'wrongful Oppression, wherein other Princes by 'their Liberty do take as pleaseth them.

'*Aristotle* saith, That the Life of the Prince is 'the Maintenance of the Laws, and that it is better 'to be governed by a good Prince, than by good 'Laws; and so your Majesty, as a good Prince, 'is not given to Tyranny, contrary to your Laws; 'but have and do pardon divers of your Subjects 'offending against the Laws. As now for Example of your special Grace, you have granted a 'general Pardon, either without our Seeking, or 'Looking for; whereby it is the better welcome. 'Again, Your Majesty hath not attempted to make 'Laws contrary to Order, but orderly have called 'this Parliament, who perceived certain Wants, 'and thereunto have put their helping Hand. And 'for Help of evil Manners, good Laws are brought 'forth; of the which we beseech your Excellent 'Majesty, so many as you shall allow, to inspire 'with the Breath of your Majesty's Power; where-

'by

'by they may be quickned, which now want Life, and so be made Laws. Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

'Furthermore concerning Payments to be made 'to the Prince, it is as to deliver the same to God's 'Ministers, who are appointed always for our De'fence; wherefore your humble Subjects do offer 'a Subsidy, to be put into your Majesty's Treasure; 'which, although it be but as a Mite, or a Farthing, 'yet is the good Will of them to be reputed as the 'poor Widow's was in the Gospel; wherein I must 'not omit to do that which never Speaker did be'fore, *viz.* to desire your Majesty not to regard this 'simple Offer of ours, but therein to accept our 'good Will, wherein your Highness hath prevented 'me in taking in the best Part our good Will; and 'required us to retain in our Hands Part of our 'Gift, and accounting it to be in our Purses as in 'your own; and so is our Duty, besides the Policy 'thereof, it being for our own Defence: And also 'Honesty, for that we have received many Bene'fits by your Majesty; for he that doth a good 'Turn, deserveth the Praise, and not he which af'terwards goeth about to reward, or doth reward 'the same. Also giving most hearty Thanks to 'God, for that your Highness hath signified your 'Pleasure of your Inclination to Marriage; which 'afore you were not given unto, which is done for 'our Safeguard; that when God shall call you, you 'shall leave of your own Body to succeed you, 'which was the greatest Promise that God made 'to *David*, and the greatest Request that *Abraham* 'desired of God, when God promised him exceed'ing great Reward: Who said, *Lord, what wilt 'thou give me, when I go childless, and he that is the 'Steward of mine House, is mine Heir?* Therefore 'God grant us, that, as your Majesty hath defen'ded the Faith of *Abraham*, you may have the like 'Desire of Issue with you. And for that Purpose, 'that you would shortly embrace the holy State of 'Matrimony, to have one, when and with whom 'God shall appoint, and best like your Majesty; and 'so the Issue of your own Body, by your Example,

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'rule over our Posterity; and that we may ob-
'tain this, let us give our most humble Thanks to
'God for his manifold Benefits bestowed upon us,
'And pray for the Reign of your Majesty's Issue,
'after your long-desired Government.'

Then the Lord Keeper (after the Queen had called him, and told him her Mind) answered to Mr. Speaker, and said,

Mr. Speaker,

The Lord Keeper's Answer.

'THE Queen hath heard and understood your
'wise and eloquent Oration, whereby prin-
'cipally I gather four Things; First, disabling
'yourself. Secondly, concerning Governance.
'The Third, touching the Subsidy. And, lastly,
'in giving Thanks; which also was intermingled
'very wisely in all parts of your Oration.

'And for the first, In disabling yourself, you have
'therein contrarily bewrayed your own Ableness.

'For the Second, concerning Governance, as
'well by Succession as Election, of Religion and
'Policy, in which Discourse you have dealt well,
'I therefore leave it, and mean to speak only a few
'Words, as to your last Word, Policy.

'Politick Orders be Rules of all good Acts, and
'touching those that you have made to the Over-
'throwing of good Laws, they deserve Reproof as
'well as the others deserve Praise; in which like
'Case you err, in bringing her Majesty's Preroga-
'tive in Question, and for that Thing, wherein
'she meant not to hurt any of your Liberties. And
'again, the Grant of her Letters Patents in Questi-
'on is not a little Marvel, for that therein you find
'fault; which is now no new-devised Thing, but
'such as afore this Time hath been used and put in
'Practice; howbeit, her Majesty's Nature is mild
'and full of Clemency; so that she is loth herein
'to be austere; and therefore, though at this Time
'she suffer you all to depart quietly unto your
'Countries for your Amendment, yet as it is need-
'ful,

'ful, ſo ſhe hopeth that the Offenders will here- Queen Elizabeth. 1566.
'after uſe themſelves well.

'Again, touching the good Laws, which you 'have taken great Pains in making; if they be not 'executed, they be not only as Rods without 'Hands to execute, them, or as Torches without 'Light, but alſo breed great Contempt: There- 'fore look well to the Execution; for, if it be not 'done, the Fault is in ſome of us, which ſhe put- 'teth orderly in Truſt to ſee it done.

'For the third Point, concerning the Preſent- 'ment of the Subſidy, her Majeſty biddeth me ſay, 'That when the Lords Spiritual and Temporal 'granted it unto her, ſo ſhe truſteth you will be as 'careful in gathering of it; which I, and others be 'Witneſs, how very unwilling and loth ſhe was to 'take, but to avoid further Inconvenience.

'And laſtly, concerning Knowledge of Benefits, 'and giving of Thanks, which you have well de- 'clared be many, yet one in Compariſon above all, 'yea, a Fruit above all other, and whereby you 'may enjoy all the other, which is her Marriage; 'whereof ſhe hath put you in good Hope.

'Further, I have to put you in Remembrance of 'three Things; the firſt is, that where now you 'acknowledge Benefits, and as you have Cauſe to 'give Thanks; ſo ſecondly, that you be not un- 'mindful hereafter to do the like; and thirdly, that 'in all your Doings hereafter, you ſhow your- 'ſelves, that all theſe Benefits be had in Remem- 'brance, and not forgotten; for that it ſhould be 'a Thing againſt Reaſon in human Creatures; e- 'ſpecially therefore now it behoveth you all, as you 'have acknowledged Benefits, and for them given 'Thanks in the firſt Point, ſo that you ſee the o- 'ther two obſerved. And then her Majeſty will 'not fail likewiſe thankfully to accept the ſame.'

Then the Queen ſtanding up, ſaid (after ſhe had given her Royal Aſſent unto nineteen publick Acts, and thirteen private)

Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

My Lords, and others the Commons of this Assembly,

Although the Lord Keeper hath, according to Order, very well answered in My Name, yet as a Periphrasis I have a few Words further, to speak unto you: Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open Assemblies; yet now, not to the End to amend his Talk, but remembring that commonly Princes own Words be better printed in the Hearers Memory, than those spoken by their Command; I mean to say thus much unto you. I have in this Assembly found so much Dissimulation, where I always professed Plainness, that I marvel thereat; yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succession and Liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied or deferred. In granting whereof, they had their Desires, and denying or deferring thereof (those Things being so plaudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that Mischief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pass, which is the Hatred of my Commons. But, alas! they began to pierce the Vessel before the Wine was fined, and began a Thing not foreseeing the End, how by this Means I have seen my Wellwillers from mine Enemies, and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four.

The Queen's Speech to both Houses.

First, the Broachers and Workers thereof, who are in the greatest Fault. Secondly, the Speakers, who, by eloquent Tales, persuaded others, are in the next Degree. Thirdly, the Agreers, who being so light of Credit, that the Eloquence of the Tales so overcame them, that they gave more Credit thereunto, than unto their own Wits. And lastly, those that sat still mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, disallowing the Matter; who, in my Opinion, are most to be excused.

But, do you think, that either I am unmindful of your Surety by Succession, wherein is all my Care, considering I know myself to be mortal? No, I warrant you. Or that I went about to break your Liberties? No, it was never in my Mind, but to stay you before you fell into the Ditch. For all Things have their Time,

Time. And although, perhaps, you may have, after me, one better learned, or wiser; yet I assure you, none more careful over you: And therefore, henceforth, whether I live to see the like Assembly or no, or however it be, yet beware, however, you prove your Princes Patience, as you have now done mine. And, now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas) the most Part of you may assure yourselves, that you depart in your Princes Grace. Queen Elizabeth. 1566.

This Speech being ended, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, dissolved this Parliament. The Parliament dissolved.

We shall not descant on the Manner this Magnanimous Queen treated her Parliaments, more Instances of which will appear in the Sequel. But, we have now a space of Five Years before we meet with another; during which Time, the unfortunate Queen of *Scots* had been driven out of her Kingdom, by her Rebellious Subjects, and forced to seek Protection from her near Kinswoman and Sister Queen, *Elizabeth*. In this Interval, also, a dangerous Insurrection, or Rebellion, had happened in the North of *England*; headed by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*. It grew to some Height in a very small Time; but was soon suppressed by the Earl of *Sussex*, who the Queen sent against them. The two Earls and the chief of their Followers were first convicted of High Treason, and outlawed, and afterwards attainted by Parliament. *Northumberland* lost his Head on a Scaffold at *York*, *Westmorland* died a banished Man abroad; and many Executions were acted on the rest, in different Parts of the Kingdom. A Rebellion in the North.

Those Insurrections happened in the Years 1569 and 1570; and the next Year, a Parliament was called to meet at *Westminster*, on the 2d Day of *April*, in the thirteenth of this Reign. A Parliament called, after an Interval of five Years, at Westminister, Anno Regni 13, 1571.

The initial Ceremonies and Speeches of this Parliament are wholly omitted in both the *Journals*; but Sir *Simonds D'Ewes* hath supplied them from a Manuscript-Journal, then in his Possession, and taken by some Member of the House of Commons in that

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. Parliament. We are perſuaded the Reader will excuſe the Formality, if we give it, at length, in his own Words. The Proceſſion to the Houſe of Lords is ſomewhat extraordinary, and carries more Pomp and Ceremony with it than thoſe of the preſent Times.

'On *Monday* the 2d Day of *April*, the Parliament beginning, (according to the Writs of Summons ſent forth) her Majeſty, about eleven of the Clock, came towards *Weſtminſter*, in the ancient accuſtomed moſt honourable Paſſage, having firſt riding before her the Gentlemen ſworn to attend her Perſon, the Batchelors Knights, after them the Knights of the *Bath*, then the Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges of either Bench, with the Maſter of the Rolls, her Majeſty's Attorney-General, and Sollicitor-General; after whom followed in Order, the Biſhops, and after them the Earls, then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

'The Hat of Maintenance was carried by the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Sword by the Earl of *Suſſex*. The Place of the Lord Steward, for that Day, was ſupplied by the Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral of *England*; the Lord Great Chamberlain was the Earl of *Oxford*. And the Earl Marſhal, by Deputation from the Duke of *Norfolk*, was the Earl of *Worceſter*.

'Her Majeſty ſat in her Coach, in her Imperial Robes, and a Wreath or Coronet of Gold, ſet with rich Pearls and Stones, over her Head; her Coach drawn by two Palfries, covered with Crimſon Velvet, drawn out, imboſſed and imbroidered very richly. Next after her Chariot followed the Earl of *Leiceſter*, in reſpect of his Office of the Maſter of the Horſe, leading her Majeſty's Spare Horſe. And then forty-ſeven Ladies and Women of Honour; the Guard in their rich Coats going on every Side of them; the Trumpeters before the firſt, ſounding; and the Heralds riding, and keeping their Rooms and Places orderly. In *Weſtminſter* Church the Biſhop of *Lincoln* preached before her Majeſty, whoſe Sermon being done, her Majeſty came from the Church, the

the Lords all on Foot, in Order as afore; and over her Head a rich Canopy was carried all the Way. She being entered into the Upper House of Parliament, and there sat in princely and seemly Sort, under a high and rich Cloth of Estate; her Robe was supported by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Sussex* kneeling, holding the Sword on the left Hand, and the Earl of *Huntingdon* holding the Hat of Estate, and the Lords all in their Places on each Side of the Chamber; that is to say, The Lords Spiritual on the Right Hand, and the Lords Temporal on the Left. The Judges and her learned Council, being at the Woolsacks in the Midst of the Chamber, and at her Highness's Feet, at each Side of her kneeling one of the Grooms, or Gentlemen of the Chamber, their Faces towards her; the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses all standing below the Bar, her Majesty then stood up in her Regal Seat, and with a princely Grace and singular good Countenance, after a long Stay, spake a few words to this Effect: Queen Elizabeth, 1571.

'My right loving Lords, and you our right faithful and obedient Subjects,

WE in the Name of God, for his Service, and for the Safety of this State, are now here assembled, to his Glory, I hope, and pray that it may be to your Comfort, and the Common Quiet of our, yours, and all ours for ever. The Queen's Speech, at opening the Parliament.

'And then looking on the Right Side of her, towards Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, standing a little beside the Cloth of Estate, and somewhat back and lower from the same, she willed him to shew the Cause of the Parliament, who thereupon spake as followeth:

'THE Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, our most dread and gracious Sovereign, hath 'commanded me to declare unto you, the Causes 'of your calling and assembling at this Time, which 'I mean to do as briefly as I can, led thereunto as 'one very loth to be tedious to her Majesty, and also The Lord Keeper's.

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'because to wise Men, and well-disposed (as I judge 'you be) a few Words do suffice. The Causes be 'chiefly two, the one to establish or dissolve Laws, 'as best shall serve for the Governance of the 'Realm. The other, so to consider of the Crown 'and State, as it may be best preserved in Time of 'Peace, and best defended in the Time of War, 'according to the Honour due unto it. And be-'cause in all Councils and Conferences, first and 'chiefly there should be sought the Advancement of 'God's Honour and Glory, as the sure and infal-'lible Foundation, whereupon the Policy of every 'good publick Weal is to be erected and built; and 'as the streight Line, whereby it is principally to be 'directed and governed, and as the chief Pillar and 'Buttress, wherewith it is continually to be sustain-'ed and maintained; therefore, for the well-per-'forming of the former touching Laws, you are to 'consider, first, Whether the Ecclesiastical Laws 'concerning the Discipline of the Church, be suf-'ficient or no? and if any Want shall be found, 'to supply the same; and thereof the greatest Care 'ought to depend upon my Lords the Bishops, to 'whom the Execution thereof especially pertains, 'and to whom the Imperfections of the same be 'best known.

'And as to the Temporal Laws, you are to ex-'amine, whether any of them, already made, be 'too sharp or too sore, or over burthenous to the 'Subject; or whether any of them be too loose or 'too soft, and so over perillous to the State. For 'like as the former may put in Danger many an 'Innocent without Cause, particularly; so the se-'cond may put in Peril both the Nocent and In-'nocent, and the whole State universally. You 'are also to examine the Want and Superfluity of 'Laws: You are to look whether there be too ma-'ny Laws for any Thing, which breedeth so many 'Doubts, that the Subject sometimes is to seek how 'to observe them, and the Councellor how to give 'Advice concerning them.

'Now

'Now the second, which concerns a sufficient Pro- Queen Elizabeth, 1571.
'vision for the Crown and State; herein you are
'to call to Remembrance how the Crown of this
'Realm hath been many Ways charged extraordi-
'narily of late; not possibly to be born by the ordi-
'nary Revenues of the same, and therefore of Ne-
'cessity to be relieved otherwise as heretofore it hath
'commonly and necessarily been. For, like as the
'ordinary Charge hath been always born by ordi-
'nary Revenues, so the extraordinary Charge hath
'always been sustained by an extraordinary Relief.
'This to those that be of Understanding is known,
'not only to be proper to Kingdoms and Empires,
'but also is, hath been, and ever will be, a necessary
'Peculiar partaining to all Commonwealths, and
'private States of Men, from the highest to the
'lowest; the Rules of Reason hath ordained it so to
'be.

'But, here I rest greatly perplexed, whether I
'ought to open and remember unto you, such Rea-
'sons as may be easily produced to move you
'thankfully and readily to grant this extraordinary
'Relief or no: I know the Queen's Majesty con-
'ceiveth so great Hope of your prudent Foreseeing
'what is to be done, and of your good Wills and
'Readiness to perform that, which by Prudence you
'foresee, that few or no Persuasions at all are need-
'ful for the bringing this to pass. Nevertheless,
'because by the antient Order heretofore used, it is
'my Office and Duty somewhat to say in this
'Case, and likewise all Men also that be present,
'neither understand alike, nor remember alike:
'Therefore I mean, with your Favour and Pati-
'ence, to trouble you with a few Words, touching
'this Point. True it is, that there be two Things
'that ought vehemently to move us, frankly, boun-
'tifully, and readily to deal in this Matter. The
'former is the great Benefits that we have receiv-
'ed: The second is the Necessity of the Cause. If
'we should forget the former, we are to be char-
'ged as most ungrate and unthankful; and the For-
'getfulness of the second doth charge us, as un-

'careful

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'careful of our own Livings and Liberties, and of 'our Lives; the former, moveth by Reason, and 'the second urgeth by Necessity. And here, to 'begin with the former, albeit that the Benefits that 'the Realm hath received by God's Grace, and the 'Queen's Majesty's Goodness, both for the Number and Greatness, are such as may be more easily 'marvelled at, than worthily weighed and considered: yet mean I to remember briefly three of 'them, whereof the first and chief is restoring and 'setting at Liberty God's holy Word amongst us; 'the greatest and most precious Treasure that can 'be in this World: For that either doth, or should 'benefit us in the best Degree; to wit, our Minds 'and Souls; and look how much our Souls excel our 'Bodies, so much must needs the Benefits of our 'Souls excel the Benefits of our Bodies; whereby 'also, as by a necessary Consequent, we are delivered, and made free from the Bondage of the Roman Tyranny; therefore this is to be thought 'of us the most principal Benefit.

'The second is the inestimable Benefit of Peace 'during the Time of ten whole Years together, 'and more; and what is Peace? Is it not the 'richest and most wished for Ornament that pertains 'to any publick Weal? Is not Peace the Mark 'and End that all good Governments direct their 'Actions unto? Nay, is there any Benefit, be it 'never so great, that a Man may take the whole 'Commodity of, without the Benefit of Peace? 'Is there any so little Commodity, but through 'Peace a Man may have the full Fruition of it? 'By this we generally and joyfully possess all; and 'without this generally and joyfully we possess nothing. A Man that would sufficiently consider all 'the Commodities of Peace, ought to call to Remembrance all the Miseries of War; for in Reason it seems as great a Benefit in being delivered of 'the one, as in the possessing of the other. Yet if 'there were nothing, the Common and lamentable 'Calamities and Miseries of our Neighbours round 'about us, for Want of Peace, may give us to un-

'der-

derſtand what Bleſſedneſs we be in that poſſeſs it. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.
There be that never acknowledge Benefits to their Value, whilſt they poſſeſs them, but when they are taken from them, and ſo find their Want; Marry, ſuch be not worthy of them. Now is it poſſible, trow you, that this bleſſed Benefit of Peace could have been from Time to Time thus long conſerved and conferred upon us, had not the Mind, Affection and Love, that our Sovereign bears towards us her Subjects, bred ſuch Care over us in her Breaſt, as for the well-bringing of this to paſs, ſhe hath forborn no Care of Mind, no Travel of Body, nor Expence of her Treaſure, nor Sale of her Lands; no Adventuring of her Credit, either at Home or Abroad? a plain and manifeſt Argument, how dear and precious the Safety and Quiet of us her Subjects be to her Majeſty. And can there be a greater Perſuaſion to move us to our Power to tender the like?

'The third is the great Benefit of Clemency and Mercy. I pray you, hath it been ſeen or read, that any Prince of this Realm, during whole ten Years Reign, and more, hath had his Hands ſo clean from Blood? If no Offence were, her Majeſty's Wiſdom in Governing was the more to be wondered at; and if Offences were, then her Majeſty's Clemency, and Mercy the more to be commended. *Miſericordia ejus ſuper omnia opera ejus.* Beſides, like as it hath pleaſed God ten Years and more, by the Miniſtry of our ſaid Sovereign, to bleſs this Realm with thoſe two inеſtimable Benefits of Peace and Clemency, ſo there is no Cauſe but the ſame might, by God's Grace, have continued twenty Years longer, without Intermiſſion, had not the raging Romaniſt Rebels entertained the Matter. And here it is to be noted, that this merciful and peaceful Reign of ten Years and more, hath happened in the Time of Chriſt's Religion now eſtabliſhed. I cannot think that any Man can follow me in this, in the Time of the Romiſh Religion ſince the Conqueſt. Nay, a Man might affirm, that this is an Example for

'Times

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Times to come, without any like in Times paſt; 'comparing *Singula ſingulis*, what ſhould I ſay? 'theſe be the true Fruits of true Religion. I could 'further remember you of the Fruits of Juſtice, the 'Benefit of reſtoring your Money to Fineneſs; yea, 'I could put you in Mind, but I think it needs not, 'it happened ſo late, of a Subſidy granted, where-'of the Queen's Majeſty of her own Bountifulneſs, 'remitted the one half; was the like here in *Eng-'land* ever ſeen or heard of? But being out of 'Doubt, that theſe Benefits already remembred be 'ſufficient of themſelves to move you to be thank-'ful to your Power, I leave any longer to detain 'you in this Point.

'And albeit a Subject cannot yield any Benefit 'to his Sovereign in the ſame Nature that he re-'ceiveth it; becauſe every Benefit is more than 'Duty, and more than Duty a Subject cannot 'yield to his Sovereign: Yet can it not be denied, 'but a Subject's acknowledging of Benefits received, 'joined with Good-Will to yield as far as Liberty 'will reach, doth ſufficiently ſatisfie for the Subject, 'for *ultra poſſe non eſt eſſe*. To your beſt Actions 'therefore addreſs ye. And thus much concerning 'Benefits.

'Now to the ſecond Part, concerning urging by 'Neceſſity, true it is, that the extraordinary Mat-'ters of Charge, happened ſince the laſt Aſſembly 'here, urging to have by Neceſſity a Relief granted, 'amongſt many others be theſe. Firſt, The great 'Charge in ſuppreſſing the late Northern Rebellion, 'with Charges alſo in reducing thoſe the Queen's 'Majeſty's Enemies in *Scotland*, that aſſiſted the 'Rebels, and made Roads into *England*. The con-'tinual growing Expences, by Reaſon of *Ireland*, 'as in ſubduing the Rebels within that Realm, 'and withſtanding the *Scots* Northward, and other 'Foreign Forces, intending Invaſion Southward. 'To theſe three Charges by Land, you may add a 'fourth by Sea; as the Preparation and ſetting forth 'of Ships, partly for the Defence againſt all foreign 'Forces, ſuſpected and intended, partly for the

'ſafe

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‘ safe conducting of the Wares and Merchandizes ‘ in greater Srength and longer Cut than hereto- ‘ fore hath been uſed. Theſe and ſuch like extra- ‘ ordinary Charges, whereof there be ſundry, with ‘ the Remains of old Charges not poſſible to be born ‘ by the ordinary Revenue, and yet of Neceſſity to ‘ be expended, do greately exceed any extraordinary ‘ Aid therefore commonly granted. Again, the ‘ great Decay of the Queen's Majeſty's Cuſtoms, ‘ by reaſon of Stay and Alteration of Traffick (albeit ‘ upon juſt Occaſion) hath bred no ſmall Want; ‘ for although in Time it is not to be doubted, but ‘ that will grow again to his old Courſe, and conti- ‘ nue with great Surety: Yet, in the mean Time, ‘ this Want muſt ſome Way be ſupplied; for you ‘ know the Horſe muſt be provided for, whilſt the ‘ Graſs is growing. At the leaſt, let us do ſo ‘ much for ourſelves, as we do for our Horſes. ‘ For ourſelves it is that are to be relieved in this ‘ Caſe. This I muſt needs ſay, that if the Queen's ‘ Majeſty did uſe in Matters of Expence, to do as ‘ commonly Princes heretofore have uſed to do, ‘ then with the more Difficulty might ſuch extra- ‘ ordinary Aid be aſſented unto, and yet of Neceſſi- ‘ ty to be had, to withſtand a greater Neceſſity. It ‘ hath been uſed in Times paſt, that Princes Plea- ‘ ſures and Delights have been commonly followed ‘ in Matters of Charge, as Things of Neceſſity. ‘ And now, becauſe, God be praiſed, the relieving ‘ of the Realm's Neceſſity is become the Princes ‘ Pleaſure and Delight, a noble Converſion (God ‘ continue it and make us, as we ought to be ear- ‘ neſtly thankful for it!) a princely Example ſhew- ‘ ed by a Sovereign for Subjects to follow. To de- ‘ ſcend in ſome Particulars. What need I to re- ‘ member unto you, how the gorgeous, ſumptuous, ‘ ſuperfluous Buildings of Time paſt be for the ‘ Realm's Good, by her Majeſty in this Time tur- ‘ ned into neceſſary Buildings, and Upholdings? ‘ The chargeable, glittering, glorious Triumphs, in- ‘ to delectable Paſtimes and Shows? Embaſſadors

‘ of

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'of Charge in such as be void of Excess, and yet 'honourable and comely? These and such like are 'dangerous Dams, able to dry up the flowing 'Fountains of any Treasure; and yet these Im-'perfections have been commonly Princes Pecu-'liars, especially young. One free from these was 'accounted *Rara avis*, &c. and yet (God be thank-'ed) a *Phœnix*, a blessed Bird of this Kind God 'hath blessed us with. I think it may be affirmed, 'and that truly, that there hath not been any Mat-'ter of great Charge taken in Hand by her Ma-'jesty in this happy Reign of twelve Years and 'more, that hath not been thought before conveni-'ent to be done for the Weal and Profit of the 'Realm; so far her Highness is from spending of 'Treasure in vain Matters, and therefore the rather 'how can a Man make any Difficulty to contribute 'according to his Power? especially, in maintaining 'of his Sovereign, his Country, his self, his Wife and 'Children, and what not? having so long a Proof 'by Experience, of such an Employment? Here 'I would put you in mind of extraordinary Charges 'to come, which in Reason seems evident, but so 'I should be over tedious unto you, and *frustra fit 'per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora.* And there-'fore here I make an End, doubting that I have tar-'ried you longer than I promised or meant, or per-'chance needed, your Wisdoms and good Inclinati-'ons considered. But you know Things are to be 'done both in Form and Matter; and my Trust 'is, that if I had stayed, I may be warrented by 'either, or by both, that you will take it in good 'Part.'

Next come the Names of the Receivers and Tryers of Petitions, in *French*, according to ancient Custom. The *Journalist* proceeds then to tell us that on the 4th Day of *April*, the Commons presented *Christopher Wray* Esq. Serjeant at Law, as their Speaker; whose Excuse not being allowed, he made an Oration in Substance as follows:

Christopher Wray Esq. elected Speaker.

4 'First,

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First, he said, 'He desired to be heard to say 'somewhat concerning the orderly Government 'of a Commonweal, which to be duly done, he 'said, there were three Things requisite, Religion, 'Authority, and Laws. By Religion he said, 'we do not only know God aright, but also how 'to obey the King or Queen, whom God shall 'assign to reign over us; and that, not in Tem- 'poral Causes, but in Spiritual or Ecclesiastical; 'in which wholly her Majesty's Power is absolute. 'And leaving all Proofs of Divinity to the Bishops 'and Fathers, as he said he would, he prov'd the 'same by the Practice of Princes within this Realm, 'and first made Remembrance of *Lucius* the first 'Christian King, who having written to *Eluthe-* 'rius the Pope, 1300 Years past for the Roman 'Laws, he was answered, that he had the Holy 'Scriptures, out of the which he might draw good 'Discretion; for that he was the Vicar of *Christ* 'over the People of *Britain*. The Conqueror, he 'said, in the Erection of *Battle Abbey*, granted that 'the Church should be free from all Episcopal Ju- 'risdiction.

His Speech.

'*Henry* the Third gave to *Ranulph* Bishop of '*London*, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, by 'these Words, *Rex, &c. sciatis quod dedimus di-* 'lect. *nostro* Ranulpho *Archiepiscop.* Cantuarien. 'quem instituimus Anulo & Baculo. The Ring, he 'said, was the Sign of Perfection; the Staff the 'Sign of Pastoral Rule; which he could not do, 'if these Kings had not had and used the Ecclesiast- 'tical Powers. In the Reports of the Law, we 'find that an Excommunication of a certain Person 'came from the Pope under his Leaden Bull; and 'was shew'd in Abatement of an Action brought at 'the Common Law; which, besides that it was 'of no Force, the King and Judges were of mind, 'that he who brought it had deserved Death, so to 'presume on any Foreign Authority: Which Au- 'thority being now, by God's Grace and her High- 'ness's means, abolished, and the Freedom of 'Consciences, and the Truth of God's Word esta- 'blished;

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. ‘ bliſhed; we therefore ought greatly to thank ‘ God and her.

‘ For Authority, or the Sword, whereby the ‘ Commonwealth is ſtayed, three Things, he ſaid ‘ are requiſite; Men, Armour, and Money. For ‘ Men, their good Wills, he ſaid, were moſt, be- ‘ ing of itſelf a ſtrong Fortreſs. For Armour, the ‘ Neceſſity he ſhewed in part; and how requiſite ‘ Treaſure was, he a little declared. And conclu- ‘ ded, that all three muſt be conjoined, Men, Ar- ‘ mour, and Money.

‘ Laſtly for Laws, the third Stay of the Com- ‘ monwealth; he ſaid there muſt be Conſideration ‘ in making them, and Care in executing of them; ‘ in making ſuch, as by the providing for one Part ‘ of the Commonwealth, the reſt ſhould not be ‘ hindred, which were indeed a Matter moſt per- ‘ nicious; and this he vouched out of *Plato de Le- ‘ gibus*. For Execution, he ſaid, that ſince the ‘ Law of itſelf is but mute, ſet in Paper, not able ‘ to do ought, the Magiſtrate (except he will be alſo ‘ mute) muſt be the Doer, and then is a good Law ‘ ſaid to be well made, when it is well executed; ‘ for, *Anima Legis eſt Executio*.

‘ Hereupon he ſaid ſomething in Commendation ‘ of her Majeſty, who had given free Courſe to her ‘ Laws, not ſending or requiring the Stay of Juſ- ‘ tice, by her Letters or Privy Seals, as heretofore ‘ ſometimes hath been by her Progenitors uſed. ‘ Neither hath ſhe pardoned any, without the Ad- ‘ vice of ſuch, before whom the Offenders have ‘ been arraigned, and the Cauſe heard.

‘ His Oration being ended, he then made four ‘ Petitions; firſt that the Perſons, Servants, and ‘ Goods, of all coming to that Aſſembly, might be ‘ free from all Arreſts. Secondly, that for Cauſe ‘ of Conference, they might have Acceſs to her ‘ Majeſty. Thirdly, if any ſent ſhould not truly ‘ report, or in Part miſtake the Meaning of the ‘ Houſe, that the ſame ſhould be by her Highneſs ‘ favourably heard. And laſtly, that in the Houſe ‘ all Men might have free Speech.’

This

This Oration being ended, by Direction from her Majesty, and Instructions given what should be said, the Lord Keeper answered thus, dividing his Speech into three Parts; the first, where he had sometimes inserted Commendations of her Majesty, he said, 'Her Highness would not acknowledge so 'great Perfections to be in her; but said, that they 'should be Instructions for her better Proceedings 'in Time to come. The second Part of his Ora- 'tion, he said, concerning the Rule for ordering 'of the Commonwealth, she well liked of, and 'wished, that as he had well conceived of it, and 'well uttered the same, so he and others would en- 'deavour the Execution thereof. Queen Elizabeth. 1571. The Queen's Answer, by the Lord Keeper.

'For his Petitions, he said, her Majesty's Plea- 'sure was, that the first should be granted, with 'this Caution, that no Man should under their 'Shadows, untruly protect others. For the se- 'cond, he said, at Time convenient, her Pleasure 'was, they should come freely. Touching the 'third Part, he said, she could not imagine that 'among so many wise Men it could happen; but 'if it should, her Grace would be content to remit 'it. The fourth was such, that her Majesty hav- 'ing Experience of late of some Disorder, and cer- 'tain Offences, which though they were not pu- 'nished, yet were they Offences still, and so must 'be accounted; therefore said, they should do 'well to meddle with no Matters of State, but such 'as should be propounded unto them, and to oc- 'cupy themselves in other Matters, concerning the 'Commonwealth.'

The Speaker's Oration to the Queen, is said, in the *Journals* of the Commons, to be two Hours long; of Consequence, this must have been much abridged.

This last Injunction must sound harsh in the Ears of an *English* House of Commons; who have ever valued themselves on that darling Prerogative, Freedom of Speech. But we leave it to the Reader's own Reflection, and go on to the other most remarkable Proceedings of the Upper House. And, the

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first Thing of Note we find the Lords went upon was to bring in a Bill for the Attainder of *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Charles Nevile*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and others The Names of thoſe other Perſons attainted, are not in the *Journals*; but *Cambden (a)* has given us ſeveral of them; beſides the two Earls, there were *Ann*, Counteſs of *Northumberland*; *Edward Dacres*, of *Morton*, commonly called Lord *Dacres*; *John Nevile*, of *Leverſege*; *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markenfeld*, *Egremond Ratcliff*, Brother to the Earl of *Suſſex*; *Chriſtopher Nevile*, *Richard Norton*, of *Norton-Coniers*; *Chriſtopher*, *Marmaduke*, and *Thomas*, of the ſame Family; *Robert* and *Michael Tempeſt*, *George Stafford*, and about forty more, all of the beſt Families in the North of *England*. The Bill of Attainder againſt theſe Perſons was read, in the Houſe of Lords, a firſt Time, on the 6th of *April*; paſſed that Houſe on the 28th; and, being ſent down to the Commons, they returned it, concluded, on the 15th of *May* following. By this Act all their Lands and Goods were forfeited to the Queen, and thoſe Poſſeſſions within the Biſhoprick of *Durham* were adjudged to her and her Succeſſors, againſt *Pilkinton*, the Biſhop, who laid Claim to all Royalties between the Rivers *Tine* and *Teſe*. This was done, ſays our Author, in Regard of the vaſt Expence the Queen had been at in freeing the Biſhop and his Dioceſe from the Rebels; but with *Proviſo* that it ſhould not prejudice the Right of the Church of *Durham* for the future *(b)*.

Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, &c. attainted.

Bill relating to Treaſon.

April the 28th, a Bill was ſent up by the Commons to the Lords, whereby certain Offences, there named, were made Treaſon. It paſſed that Houſe on the 8th Day of *May*, with a new Proviſo, and certain Amendments added to it. This Act, ſays *Cambden*, was occaſioned by the Iniquity of the Times, and the Love which the Parliament of *England* then bore to their Prince and Country. By it was provided, according to the Tenour of former Laws, 'That if any Man ſhould attempt the Death

'or

(a) Cambden in *Kennet*, p. 423.
(b) Ibidem, p. 436.

'or perſonal Hurt of the Queen; or raiſe War, or excite others to War againſt her; if any one 'ſhould give out, that ſhe is not the lawful Queen 'of this Realm, but that any other can claim a juſter Title thereto; or ſhould pronounce her to be 'an Heretic, Schiſmatic, or Infidel; or ſhould uſurp the Right and Title of the Kingdom during 'her Life; or ſhould affirm that any other has a 'Right to the Crown; or *that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the 'Crown and the Succeſſor thereof*; every ſuch Perſon ſhall be guilty of *High Treaſon*. That if any 'one, during the Queen's Life, ſhould by any Book, 'written or printed, expreſly maintain, that any 'Perſon is or ought to be, the Queen's Heir and 'Succeſſor, except the *natural Iſſue* of her Body; 'or ſhould publiſh, print or diſperſe, any Books or 'Writings to that Effect, he, and his Abettors, for 'the firſt Offence, ſhould be impriſoned for a 'whole Year, and forfeit the half of his Goods; 'and, if any ſhould offend a ſecond Time, he ſhould 'incur the Penalty of a *Premunire*; that is, the 'Loſs of all his Goods, and lie in perpetual Impriſonment.' Queen Elizabeth, 1571.

This Act plainly ſhews the extream Jealouſy, more than the Iniquity, of the Times; and that there was then ſome latent Title to the Crown, which they could not ſufficiently guard againſt. Our Author writes, that it was looked upon as too ſevere, by thoſe who thought that it would tend to the Eſtabliſhment of the Nation's Quiet, to have an Heir apparent declared. But adds he, it is incredible what Jeſts were thrown out on that Part of the Act, '*except the natural Iſſue of her Body*. Since the Lawyers term thoſe Children *natural*; whom Nature alone, without the Intervention of honeſt Matrimony, hath begotten. As thoſe are called *lawful* which are born in Wedlock. So that *Cambden* himſelf, being then a young Man, hath often heard People ſay, that this Word was inſerted into the Act by *Leiceſter*, with a Deſign, that, one Time or other, he might impoſe ſome Baſtard Son of his upon the

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Engliſh Nation for the Queen's *natural Iſſue*. An Inſinuation oddly dropt from the Pen of one, who has taken ſuch great Pains to dreſs his Heroine in the brighteſt Robes of Virtue and Honour.

Pope Pius V. excommunicates the Queen.

About this Time Pope *Pius* V. had thundered out all the *Anathemas* of the *Vatican* againſt *Elizabeth*; and had the Inſolence to publiſh a Bull of Excommunication againſt her, which was fixed on the Biſhop of *London's* Palace-Gates (*c*). This Arrogance was taken Notice of by Parliament. Accordingly, we find that a Bill was read a Third Time, and paſſed the Houſe of Lords, *April* the 21ſt, with this Title, *A Bill againſt bringing in and putting in Execution of Bulls, Writings or Inſtruments, or other ſuperſtitious Things, from the See of* Rome. By it was enacted, 'That whoſoever, by Bulls or 'other Reſcripts of the Pope, ſhould reconcile any 'Man to the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe who 'ſhould be ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of *High* 'Treaſon. That whoſoever did relieve ſuch as did 'ſo reconcile Men, or ſhould bring into *England* 'any *Agnus Dei's*, Beads, Crucifixes, or other 'Things conſecrated by the Pope, ſhould incur the 'Penalty of a *Premunire*. And, that whoſoever 'ſhould not diſcover ſuch Reconcilers ſhould be 'guilty of concealing, that is, *Miſpriſion of Treaſon*.'

Acts paſſed thereupon.

Several Perſons, concerned in the laſt Rebellion, having eſcaped beyond Sea, and others in greater Numbers, having withdrawn themſelves on the Score of Religion, a Bill was framed againſt them in the Houſe of Commons, and ſent up to the Lords on the Firſt Day of *May*. The next Day this Bill againſt Fugitives, over the Seas, was committed to the Marquiſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Suſſex*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke* and *Leiceſter*; the Viſcounts *Hereford* and *Montague*; the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Sarum* and *Worceſter*; the Lords *Burleigh*, *Wentworth*, *Haſtings* and *Buckhurſt*. *May* the 19th, the Bill was concluded in that Houſe, with a new Proviſo, and certain Amendments added to it. The Act recalled all ſuch Fugitives, who had gone

(*c*) See the Form of [illegible] in *Camden*, p. 427.

gone abroad without the Queen's Leave, within a limited Time, under Forfeiture of their Eſtates. And, by another Act, paſſed this Seſſion, all Conveyances, Gifts, Alienations, &c. of their Eſtates, were termed fraudulent, and ſet aſide. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

Theſe, and ſome more Laws of leſs Significancy, were framed againſt *Popery*, by this Parliament; nor were they wanting to reform ſome ſcandalous Abuſes which had crept into the eſtabliſhed *Proteſtant* Church. An Act was made for correcting certain Diſorders of the Miniſters of the Church. Another againſt Frauds in defeating Remedies for Dilapidations. Another touching Leaſes of Benefices and other Eccleſiaſtical Livings with Cure. This laſt Act was made, ſays *Cambden*, to reſtrain the Covetouſneſs of certain Churchmen; who, as if born for themſelves alone, to the notorious Defrauding of their Succeſſors, did waſte the Revenues of the Church, and let out Leaſes for many Years. The firſt mentioned Act for reforming the Miniſters, hath this Title in the printed Statutes, *An Act for the Miniſters of the Church to be of ſound Religion.* Which was made to reſtrain certain puritanical Preachers who oppoſed the Articles concluded on in a Synod at *London*, in the Year 1562, for aboliſhing of Schiſms.

But now, when the Parliament had done with Religious Matters, it was thought neceſſary to take ſome Care of the State. On the 10th of *May* a Bill with a Grant of two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, and a *Subſidy*, was ſent up by the Commons. It was read the firſt Time, on the next Day, by the Lords, who paſſed it on the 15th. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that this Supply is not the leaſt taken Notice of by Mr. *Cambden*. And it is not clear, by him, what it could be for, ſince the Kingdom was then in profound Peace with its Neighbours; even *Ireland*, which was very troubleſome moſt Part of this Reign, being then in much Subjection. However, another Co-temporary Hiſtorian informs us, that this Supply was granted to the Queen, towards the great Charge ſhe had been at, in repreſſing the late A Subſidy.

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. Rebellion, in the North; and purſuing the Rebels, which were fled into *Scotland* (*d*). Great Care was taken that the Queen ſhould not be cheated of any Part of this Grant; for two Bills were paſſed this Parliament; the one againſt Frauds of Tellers, Receivers, Collectors and Treaſurers of the publick Money; the other, that all ſuch Lands, Goods, Chatels, &c. as any Receiver, Teller, Collector, &c. ſhould have at their entring into their Charge, ſhall be liable to the Payment of their Debts due to the Crown. The like Act was made for the Collectors of the Subſidies granted by the Clergy; which at this Time was ſix Shillings in the Pound.

We muſt now go back to trace what was doing this Parliament in the Commons; in which our *Journaliſt* is more particular than in any before; but his Account is carefully collated with the more authentic, late printed, *Journals* of the Commons. The Houſe having been called over, and the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy given to each Member, by the Lord Steward of the Queen's Houſhold, they proceeded to the Election of a Speaker; the Ceremony of whoſe Inveſtiture is given before. *April* the 5th, the Houſe was again called over; and ſome Members were commanded to attend the next Day the Order of the Houſe, becauſe they had entered there without being returned by the Clerk of the Crown. The ſame Day, a Committee was named to confer with the Attorney and Sollicitor General, about ſeveral Boroughs, who had returned Members in this Parliament, but ſent none to the laſt. The *Journaliſt* obſerves, on ſuch a Caſe, in a prior Parliament, 'That it was very common in former 'Times, that if any Borough grew into Poverty, 'or Decay, to avoid the Charges of their Burgeſſes 'Allowance, they either got a Licence from the 'Crown to be diſcharged from ſuch Election and 'Attendance, or did, by Degrees, diſcontinue it 'themſelves. But, in later Times, the Knights, 'Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, 'for the moſt Part, bearing their own Charges, 'many

Caſe of antient decayed Boroughs.

(*d*) *Hollingſhead's* Chron. p. 1225.

'many of those Borough Towns, which had dis- Queen Elizabeth. 1571.
'continued their former Privilege, by not sending, 'did again begin it; which was the Case of several 'Towns, both in this and the succeeding Reign (*e*).' This is the Reason why so many pitiful Boroughs, remarkable now for nothing besides, but their Meanness and Poverty, retain the same Privilege; and have a Power of being represented equal to the Counties and Cities, and superior to many great Towns in *England*.

The next Thing that we find the Commons went upon, before they meddled with the Secular Laws of the Land was to amend the Spiritual; for, on the very same Day, as it seems by the *Journalist*, a Motion was made in the House to this Effect:

'Mr. *Strickland*, a grave and ancient Man, of great Zeal, stood up, and made a long Discourse, tending to the Remembrance of God's Goodness, giving unto us the Light of his Word, together with the gracious Disposition of her Majesty, by whom, as by his Instrument, God hath wrought so great Things, and blaming our Slackness and Carelessness, in not esteeming and following the Time and Blessing offered; but, still as Men not sufficiently instructed what is Truth, or so that we think it not convenient to publish and profess it openly, and that all reproachful Speeches of the Slanderous might be stopped, the Drawbacks brought forward, and the Over-runners, such as over-run and exceed the Rule of the Law, reduced to a Certainty, he thought it *Operis pretium*, to be occupied therein; for which Purpose he said, the Professors of the Gospel in other Nations had writ, and published to the World, the Confession of their Faith, as did those of *Strasburgh* and *Frankfort*, *&c.* for which Purpose also great learned Men in this Realm had travelled, as *Peter Martyr*, *Paulus Fagius*, and others, whose Works hereupon were extant. Debate on the Abuses in Religion, &c.

'And before this Time an Offer therof was made, in Parliament, that it might be approved; but either the Slackness, or somewhat else of some Men

(*e*) *D'Ewes's* Journals, p. 80 and 156.

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. in that Time, was the Lett thereof, or what elſe, he ſaid, he would not ſay. This Book, he ſaid, reſted in the Cuſtody of Mr. *Norton*, as he gueſſed, a Man neither ill-diſpoſed to Religion, nor a negligent Keeper of ſuch Matters of Charge, and thereupon requeſted that Mr. *Norton* might be required to produce the ſame; he added alſo, that after ſo many Years, as now by God's Providence we had been learning the Purity of God's Truth, we ſhould not permit, for any Cauſe of Policy, or other Pretence, any Errors in Matters of Doctrine to continue amongſt us. And therefore, ſaid he, although the Book of Common Prayer is (God be praiſed) drawn very near to the Sincerity of the Truth, yet are there ſome Things inſerted more ſuperſtitious, than in ſo high Matters be tolerable; as, namely, in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the Sign of the Croſs to be made with ſome Ceremonies, and ſuch other Errors; all which, he ſaid, might well be changed, without Note of chopping or changing of Religion, whereby the Enemies might ſlander us; it being a Reformation not contrariant, but directly purſuant to our Profeſſion; that is, to have all Things brought to the Purity of the Primitive Church, and Inſtitution of Chriſt. He ſpake at large of the Abuſes of the Church of *England*, and of the Churchmen; as firſt, that known Papiſts are admitted to have Eccleſiaſtical Government, and great Livings; that godly, honeſt, and learned Proteſtants having little or nothing; that Boys are diſpenſed with to have Spiritual Promotions; that by Friendſhip with the Maſter of the Faculties, either unable Men are qualified, or ſome one Man allowed to have too many ſeveral Livings; finally, he concluded with Petition, that by Authority of the Houſe ſome convenient Number of them might be aſſigned, to have Conference with the Lords of the Spirituality, for Conſideration and Reformation of the Matters by him remembred.

'Mr. *Norton*, a Man wiſe, bold and eloquent, ſtood up next, and ſaid, he was not ignorant, but had long ſince learned what it was to ſpeak on a ſudden,

or

or first, before other Men in Parliament. Yet, being occasioned by Mr. *Strickland*, he said, that Truth it was, he had a Book tending to the same Effect; but (quoth he) the Book was not drawn by those he named, but by virtue of the Act of 1532 *(f)*, at the Assignation, or by the Advice of eight Bishops, eight Divines, eight Civilians, and eight Temporal Lawyers, who having in Charge, to make Ecclesiastical Constitutions, took in Hand the same; which was drawn by that learned Man, Doctor *Haddon*, and penned by another learned Man Mr. *Cheeke*; whereupon he said, that Consideration had been, and some Travel bestowed by Mr. *Foxe* of late, and that there was a Book newly printed, to be offered to that House; which he did, then and there, presently shew forth. And for the rest of Mr. *Strickland's* Motions, he was of his Mind, chiefly for the avoiding and suppressing of Simoniacal Ingrossments. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Whereupon were appointed for that Purpose, for Redress of sundry Defections in those Matters, these following; *viz.* all the Privy-Council being Members of this House, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Sir *Thomas Thinne*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Henry Gate*, the Master of the Requests; Mr. *Heneage*, Mr. Recorder; Mr. *Bell*, Mr. *Henry Knolles*, sen. Mr. *Mounson*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Strickland*, Mr. *Godier*, Mr. *William More*, and Doctor *Berkley*.

'The Bill concerning coming to the Church, and receiving the Communion, was read the second Time, and thereupon Sir *Thomas Smith*, speaking for the Maintenance thereof, argued; and in Part wished the Bishops to have Consideration thereof.

'After whom Mr. *Fleetwood* moved, that the Penalty of that Statute should not go to Promoters, and said, it was a Device but of late brought in, in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, the first Year of his Reign, and shewed the Evils and Inconveniences that did grow by these Mens Doings; wherein no Reformation was sought, but private Gain to the most of Men. He said also, that Matter of going

(f) See before, *Sub Ann.*

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going to the Church, or for the Service of God, did directly appertain to that Court; and that we all have as well learned this Lesson, That there is a God, who is to be served, as to have the Bishops. And thereupon he undertook to prove by the old Laws, vouched from King *Edgar*, that the Princes, in their Parliaments, have made Ecclesiastical Constitutions: As these; That if any Servant shall work upon the Sabbath-Day, by the Commandment of his Master, he should be free; if of himself, he should be whipped; if a Freeman should work, he should be bound, or grievously amerced. Then he concluded upon Request, that it might be committed to some of the House, without the Bishops, who perhaps would be slow.

'Sir *Owen Hopton* moved, very orderly, that the Presentation of such Defaults should not only depend upon the Relation of the Churchwardens, who being for the most part simple, and mean Men, and fearing to offend, would rather incur Danger of Perjury, than displease some of their Neighbours; he shewed for Proof, Experience.

'On which Motions, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Sir *Thomas Scot*, the Master of the Requests; Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*, Mr. Serjeant *Geoffrey*, Mr. *Fleetwood* and Mr. *Sands*, were appointed a Committee, to meet in the Star-Chamber at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.'

April the 7th, the Bill concerning Religion was read, and the *Journalist* proceeds to tell us, 'That Mr. *Strickland* first moved, that Mr. *Norton* might be required to deliver such Books, as he had. Mr. *Newdigate* moved, that where one of the Causes for the Calling of the Parliament, and perhaps the chiefest, was for a Subsidy; he thought it not amiss to make Offer of a Subsidy before it should be required, which Speech was not liked of by the House.

And on the Subsidy;

'Sir *Francis Knolles* made a long needless Discourse concerning the Subsidy.

'Mr. *Bell* said, That a Subsidy was, by every good Subject, to be yielded unto; but for that the People were galled by two Means, it would hardly be levied; namely, by Licences, and the Abuse of

Promoters; for which, if Remedy were provided, then would the Subsidy he paid willingly; which he proved, for that by Licences a few only were enriched, and the Multitude impoverished; and added, that if a Burden should be laid on the Back of the Commons, and no Redress of the common Evils, then there might happly ensue, that they would lay down the Burden in the Midst of the Way, and turn to the contrary of their Duty. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Mr. *Popham* affirmed Mr. *Bell's* Speech, and added to the former Abuses, that of the Treasurers of the Crown; who having in their Hands great Masses of Money, with the which either they themselves or some of theirs, do purchase Lands to their own Use, and after become Bankrupts, and so cause or practise an Installment of their Debts, as of late some one hath installed a Debt, of thirty thousand Pounds: Which occasioned the Lack in the Princes Coffers.

'Mr. Serjeant *Lovelace* argued, that every Loyal Subject ought to yield to the Relief of the Prince, and that without any Condition or Limitation; notwithstanding, he did not dislike of the former Motions; and thought it very requisite, that these Evils might be provided for, to the Ends aforesaid; unto the which he added three Abuses more; first, the Abuse of Purveyors, wherein he had to desire the Council, and the Masters of the Houshold to consider it, and to be willing to yield to Reformation; and, in his Opinion, it should not be amiss to take away the Purveyors, and to limit every Country to a proportionable Rate; so should her Majesty be better served, and the Kingdom eased. Secondly, The Reformation of the Exchequer, for the Charge which groweth by Respite of Homage; which he wished might be paid on some other Sort, in a Sum certain. Thirdly, Another Reformation, which is upon a great Abuse in the Exchequer, by sending out, upon every Fine levied, the Writ *Quo titulo ingressus est.*

'Mr. Comptroller, in few Words, said, that he being one of the Masters of the Houshold, would do his

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. his Endeavour for Reformation of all Things arising by the Purveyors.

'Mr. *Sampoole*, sometimes of *Lincolns-Inn*, liked well of the Motion of the Subsidy, and commended the Motions of the Gentlemen before; affirming, that they were very necessary to be thought of; unto which he was to add one more, *viz.* the Abuse of Collectors. He shewed, that they do retain their Charge sometimes a Year, sometimes more, in their own Hands. And for that they are but mean Men, appointed to that Office, they oft times convert it to their own Uses, and are perhaps never able to satisfie the same; whereby the People are unwilling to pay: For, if they should understand her Majesty should have it presently, they would more willingly pay it; and therefore wished the better Sort of every Country should be assigned to that Charge.

'Mr. *Goodier* said, That every Man ought to yield to the Subsidy, and rather offer it than to stay till it should be demanded; desiring, that the Subsidy might be presently, and only go forward, without the Hearing of any more Complaints: For that they might be infinite, and already more were remembred, than in one Parliament could be reformed. Wherein he shewed a great Desire he had to win Favour.

'A Committee was appointed to consider of the Proportion and Time of yielding some Relief unto her Majesty; whose Names being set down in the original *Journal-Book* of the House of Commons, are thence transcribed, at large, in Manner and Form following:

'All the Privy-Council Members of this House, the Master of the Rolls, Sir *John White*, Sir *William Dormer*, Sir *Christopher Heydon*, Mr. *Heneage*, Sir *Robert Lane*, Sir *Henry Norrice*, Sir *George Blunt*, Sir *Henry Weston*, Sir *George Bowes*, Sir *William Pawlet*, Mr. *Edgecomb*, Mr. *Edward Stanhop*, Mr. *John Mersh*, Mr. *Robert Newdigate*, Mr. Serjeant *Lovelace*, Mr. *Saintpool*, Mr. *Thomas Snagge*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Hasset*, Mr. *Grasior*, Mr. *Sands*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Basset*, Mr. *Warncomb*, Mr. *George Forrors*,

vors, Mr. *Amiſe Pawlet*, Mr. *Hatfield*, Mr. *Greithfield*, Mr. *Bounton*, Mr. *Bellingham*, to meet in the Star-Chamber, on *Monday* next, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.' Queen Elibabeth. 1571.

April the 9th, A Report was made concerning the Right of the Burgeſſes; and it was ordered, by Conſent of the Attorney General, that the Burgeſſes ſhall ſit according to their Returns; becauſe the Validity of the Charters of their Towns, ought to be examined in another Place.

On the 10th, the Committee was enlarged on the Religious Bills, in order to go to a Conference with a ſelect Number of Biſhops and Peers. The next Day the Bill on fraudulent Gifts and Conveyances, *alias* Monopolies, was taken into Conſideration; and being ordered to be engroſſed, a Debate aroſe, in which Mr. *Fleetwood* argued, 'That there might appear Raſhneſs or Indiſcretion in them, who ſhould now reverſe what of late they had done; but leaving to ſpeak thereof he entered into a good Diſcourſe of the Prerogative, which might thereby be touched, if they ſhould endeavour to overthrow her Majeſty's Letters Patents, to whom, by Law, there is Power given to incorporate any Town, and ſhe is ſworn to preſerve her Prerogative: He vouched the Clerk of the Parliament's Book to be, that no Man might talk of the Statute of Wills, *&c.* but that the King firſt gave Licence; for that his Prerogative in the Wards was hereby touched. He ſhewed likewiſe the Statute of *Ed.* I. *Ed.* III. and *Hen.* IV. with a Saving of the Prerogative. In King *Edward* the Sixth's Time, Licence was ſued for to the Lord Protector, to talk of Matters of Prerogative, he remembred the Book of 2 *Ed.* 6. for the Parliament of *Ireland*, called by the Chief Judge, as is for him lawful; where it was queſtioned, what by Parliament might be done? whether they might depart with any of the King's Towns, Forts or Piers? It was agreed they might not; and ſo he concluded, that to talk thereof (for as much as her Majeſty's Letters Patents, and Prerogative were touched) *Rege non conſulto*, was perilous. He alſo made mention Debate relating to the Prerogative;

of

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

of the Statute, which authorizeth all Merchants to traffick by Sea, *Nisi publice prohibentur*; he saith, Others were prohibited.

'Mr. *Young* of *Bristol*, in the Behalf of the Commons, reasoned to this Effect; First, shewed the Loss to the Queen of her Custom, then the private Monopoly wrought and occasioned by the Merchants, the Controversies which have ensued by this Means amongst them, and the subtile Means whereby the Statute was procured, without the Consent of the Major or Commons, by such as were put in Trust.

'Mr. *Alford* said, That he might not speak of the Prerogative aptly, for that he was not learned in the Law; but made some Remembrance of what he had there seen concerning the Act of Parliament for *Southampton*; where it appeareth, that without an Act of Parliament, her Majesty's Letters Patents were not sufficient; and therefore he prayed convenient Consideration might be, and that the same (if it should so seem good to the House) might be conjoined to the former and other Bills, *&c.*

'Then spake Mr. *Cleere*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold* Sir *Henry Norris*, and Mr. *Christopher Yelverton*, of *Gray's-Inn*, severally to the said Bill: Whose Speeches being somewhat imperfectly and uncertainly set down, are therefore omitted; although from them, and the Residue foregoing, the Effect of this Bill may be collected to have been for the Dissolution of certain Companies of Merchants in *Bristol*, whom her Majesty had incorporated by her Letters Patents, and authorized them to trade to certain Places, by which it was pretended that the publick and free Trading of others was restrained; and at last upon the Motion of Mr. *Fleetwood*, That the Bill being of great Weight, might be further considered of by the House, and the Committees be appointed at some other Time; it was thereupon ordered, That they should be appointed on the Day following, which was done accordingly.'

Also on the Bill for not coming to Church.

The same Day was read, but not mentioned in the *original Journals*, a Bill for coming to the Service of the

the Church, which seems to be a Mattter of great Moment, by the following Debate about it. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Mr. *Snagg* shewed, at large, the Inconveniences of the old Law, for coming to Service: For, said he by the former Law it was enacted, That the Service shall not be said, or Sacraments ministred, in other Sort than in the Book of Common-Prayer is prescribed; he shewed, how differently the same was used in many Places, from the prescribed Rule; as where no Part of those Prayers were observed, but a Sermon, and some such other Prayers only as the Minister shall think good, in Place thereof: Whereupon have great Divisions, Discords and Dislikes grown amongst and between great Numbers. And since it is Law, that in this Sort Service shall be used, and that whosoever shall be at any other Form of Service, shall incur the Penalty prescribed, and that the Ministers neither do, nor will do herein, as they should, and as is by the Law prescribed and commanded. He thought the Proceedings, in this Kind, should occasion a *Dilemma* in Mischief: For, by this Law, if he come not, he shall lose Twelvepence; and if he come and be present, and the Service be not said according to the prescribed Rule of the Book, he shall lose a hundred Marks.

Mr. *Aglionby*, Burgess of the Town of *Warwick*, moved, the Law might be without Exception or Priviledge for any Gentleman in their private Oratories. This did he prove to be fit out of *Plato* his Laws, and *Cicero*, both prescribing for the Observation of the Law an Equality between the Prince and the poor Man; not giving Scope to the one above the other. Also he remembred the Authority of *Lactantius Firmianus*, making this only Difference betwixt Man and Beast, that all Men do know and acknowledge that there is a God; and in this Respect there should be no Difference between Man and Man. Withal, he said, the more noble the Man, the more Good his Example may do. He therefore concluded, that for so much of the Law,

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. Law, so the same might be general, he was of good liking that it should pass. But, for the other Matter, concerning the Receiving of the Communion, he argued, That it was not convenient to inforce Consciences. And, to that Purpose, he shewed the Authority of Doctors; which he vouched, without quoting the Place or Sentence. He said also, That it was the Opinion of Fathers, and learned Men of this Land; and therefore wished they might be consulted with. Finally, he concluded, that *Bonæ Leges è malis moribus proveniunt:* But no good Laws can make a bad Man fit to receive that great Mystery of God above. This whole Speech he tempered with such Discretion, as in such Case was seemly. And whatsoever he spake, he spake the same under Correction.

'Mr. *Strickland*, standing up, first prayed he might be excused, for that he was to speak on a sudden, and unprovided. For the first, he approved what Mr. *Aglionby* had said: For the Second, he said, he could not be of that Mind; and he vouched, out of *Esdras*, that the Church, yea, and the Consciences of Men, were, by the Prophet, restrained; withal, he said, Conscience might be free, but not to disturb the Common Quiet. He shewed the Practice and Doings of the People, the Banishment of the *Arians*, &c. That the Word of the Prince, for Lack of Law, must not be tied. The *Israelites*, he said, were constrained to eat the Passover. And, finally, he concluded, That it was no Straining of their Consciences, but a Charge or Loss of their Goods, if they could not vouchsafe to be, as they should be, good Men, and true Christians.

'Mr. *Dalton* reasoned to this Effect, That there could ensue no Inconvenience by those two Laws, which were intended to be contrary. His Reason was, except the Service be according to the Law, no Man is bound to stay there; no more than if he be bound to come and hear Service, and there be no Service, he is to forfeit his Bond.

'For

'For Answer to Mr. *Aglionby*, he said, The Matters of Conscience did not concern the Law-makers; neither were they to regard the Error, Curiosity, or Stiffneckedness of the evil, ignorant, or froward Persons. For be it they did proceed orderly to the Discharge of their own Consciences, in making the Law, let them care for the rest whom it behoveth. He was of Mind that Gentlemen should not be excepted, for the Causes aforesaid; but, he wished Provision might be made for such as be imprisoned, or cannot come for fear of Arrests. He wished also, that the Law might have Continuance but till the End of the next Parliament.' Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

April the 12th, when the Bill, and the Additions to it, that certain Offences should be made Treason, was read, a Debate arose, in which, Mr. *Goodier*, with some Shew of former Care for that Cause, entred into the Utterance of a long Speech, and spake to this Effect: First, 'He made a solemn Protestation of his Sincerity, Truth, and Loyalty to her Majesty, to the State, and to the House. Then he shewed many singular and true Blessings, which we have by her Highness's Means, and religiously prayed for her Preservation; but, his whole Discourse stood upon these three Points, What he thought of the Persons there assembled; What he disliked in the Matter of the Bill propounded; and why he did so.

'Of the Persons, he said, he heartily believed the whole Company in Truth and true Meaning to have a Care and hearty Wellwishing for her Majesty's Safety, acknowledging and reposing in her the very Anchor of our Safety; but whether all were with a sincere Meaning to the State of the Crown, he knew not; but rather thought the clean contrary: But yet of the most and most honourable he thought nothing amiss, but some surely, he said, were doubly disposed, and with a favourable Affection bent for some special Body.

'For the Substance of the first Bill, he said, he was of clear Mind, well-liking, and approving the whole Course thereof; except, quoth he, that the

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same be not already, by former Laws provided for; and hereunto he further added, that if any Man should say, That the Papists do not err in saying or speaking so slanderously of her Majesty, the same to be taken also as Treason. For the Additions which concerned the first which did clearly respect the Time past, as to make Treason of a Fault already committed, which at the Time of the perpetrating of the same Offence, was not in the same Degree; it was a Precedent most perilous, which might occasion such and so great Evils, as easily might not be conceived. Of present Time, Man's Wisdom might judge; future Times Man's Policy may reach to: But to call again the Time past, or to raise what is dead in any Kind, Man may not; nor, in Reason, is it to be presumed. The like, he said, had not been seen; and where he hath read thousands of Laws, yet did he never find such a Precedent. An Extremity rare, and never practised, no not in these the greatest Matters of Faith and Religion, that we do now so earnestly treat of.

'The Enemy to God and our State (the Papists I mean) is most hateful. Yet is no Man so hardly bent, as to have them punished, much less to suffer Death, for what is past. Whether her Majesty hath pardoned what is past, we do not know, and whether her Highness's Pleasure be that it should be talked of, no Man yet hath made a Report. Withal, it may haply occasion Dislike between her Majesty and the House, which were odious and hateful; but doubtless, he propheſied it would occasion Peril, such and so great, that the greatest Speakers therein, yea those who should give them most and best Words, could give no Warranties. Neither is it that the Sequel thereof might be warranted for the Right of a Crown, which words may not be strained or straitned.

'Thus much considered, and the Prince being herein not as yet determined, he therefore advised, and more than so by Words of Vehemency urged Stay. He farther said, that the Penning of the first Article of the Additions was clouded and involved with

with secret Understandings, not to be understood but by such as more curiously could, and more cunningly would, look thereinto than he. For Matters of Title of the Crown, he said, he neither knew any, nor durst to intermeddle or take Knowledge of any; and concluding, he said, that for Obscurity of the Sense, he must needs condemn the same, since that *Veritas est nuda, simplex & plana.* Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Sir *Thomas Smith*, her Majesty's principal Secretary, neither condemning nor approving of what had before been spoken by Mr. *Goodier*, made mention, That the Bill might be divided, lest the one might be the Hindrance of the other.

'Mr. *Norton*, in his accustomed Manner of natural Eloquence, first shewed that the Assembly should be free of Speech, so that the same did not exceed the Bounds of Loyalty; and as in Speech free, so ought it also to be free of unjust Slanders, and undeserved Reproaches. For so much as might concern him, he protested that he neither thought, nor meant any other Title than the sole Preservation of her Majesty; and to this End was he and the whole House (as he supposed) settled and bent; she being of this Realm, not only in respect of our Goods and Lives the singular Stay, but for Truth and Religion, yea of all Christendom not *Magna*, but in all the World *Specioſa*. And since that Consultation is no other than *Consultare in Commune*, he was as well to remove the Surmise of Ambiguity, as the Slander raised of any Doubleness in him; the Words, quoth he, are plain, these and no other; that whatsoever Person, during the Life of her Majesty, hath or shall imagine, intend, or go about, the Deposing, *&c.* them and their Heirs to be barred of any Title.

'And, saith he, where Ambition hath once entered, such is the Nature of the same, that never it will be satisfied: And the Thirst for a Kingdom is unquenchable. Withal, in commmon Experience we see, that between two, for a small Matter in Suit, when it shall pass against the one, though by perfect Trial, yet will he who loseth never acknowledge that he had either offered, or defended an Injury.

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He ſaid, For working of great Matters, great Time is required; and ſuch a Miſchief, as to overthrow a Crown, is not in a Day compaſſed; and therefore what hereafter is thought, or meant to be executed, is already begun, compaſſed and deviſed. Time muſt therefore be taken, and therefore in Time, and at all Times, it is to be prevented.

'Where it is ſaid, The like hath not been ſeen, and a Miracle made of it, as if there were never former Precedents ever ſeen of the like, or ever heard of before. It is no longer ſince than in Queen *Mary's* Time, when to the Parliament it was ſuggeſted, that the Congregations in the City of *London* aſſembled, did uſe this Kind of Prayer to God, either to convert her, or confound her. Whereupon it was enacted, That every Perſon who ſo, and in ſuch Sort, had prayed, or who ſo after ſhould pray, ſhould be taken for a Traitor. The Caſe of *Bennet Smith* is not ſo ſtrange, nor ſo long ſince, but it may be remembred; his Tranſgreſſion was not ſuch, nor ſo to be adjudged at the Time of the Offence perpetrated, as it was afterwards; yet by Authority of Parliament the Offence precedent was from the old Nature altered; and he, who before at the Time of the Offence, until the making of the Law, was not to be privileged but by his Clergy, was now by an Act made after, by Judgment executed. And ſince in the Caſe of a private Man, as was this of *Bennet Smith*, ſuch Conſideration, and ſuch good Diſcretion was uſed, who can imagine it to be odious? Nay, who is it, that would not the like or greater Care to be had of a Prince, and eſpecially of ſo good and virtuous a Prince, as ſhe, of whom our Conference is now? But yet we are charged with partial Affection, unſettled Minds, and Doubleneſs. Whether this Speech now be an Offence to the Houſe, he earneſtly craved the Judgment of the Houſe. For that it might ſeem by the Gentlemen's Earneſtneſs who ſpake, that ſome one of his Friends, whom he was bent to ſerve, would be touched. Whereupon, for his own Part, he eſt-ſoons proteſted, he had no certain Reſolution with himſelf of any Title, but

but was to be satisfied with the Consent of that Assembly; howsoever, adding further, if his Motions might so sort, as they were liked, he offered this Proviso to be added, That if any such Person, who had made any such Claim, shall disclaim and renounce all Title during her Highness's Life, the same Person, &c. to be then restored to the old Estate. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Mr. Comptroller, after some Declaration of Grief, perceiving the Matter grow to Heat, as verily the greatest Number of the House were more than moved with Mr. *Goodier's* Speech, and that Men were disposed to talk at large of Matters contrary or repugnant to the Bill, moved that it might be severed; because the first Part came in, and was exhibited to that House by her Majesty's learned Counsel; the other was but the Advice of a private Man; which Advice, though it justly deserved Commendation, yet was it not, in his Fancy, to be joined with that which came in other Sort.

'Mr. *Snagg* argued to this Effect, That in making of Laws, Plainness of Speech should be used, all Intrapments to be shunned and avoided. And here he moved, why the Statute of *Edw.* III. whereby it is enacted, That all such, who shall endeavour, compass, or imagine the Death of the King, &c. should be Traitors, &c. should not be said sufficient, reaching as far, and comprehending as much, as this latter Advice. For the Regard of the Time past, he said, he could have no good liking thereof, and what was practised in Queen *Mary's* Time (under Correction) he took to be no charitable Precedent? concerning the Authority of the Parliament, he did conclude nothing, but said it was a Prevention.

'Sir *Francis Knolles* shewed, That he could not utterly dislike the conjoining of the Additions, sith that they rise all of one Ground, and that they both are good and charitable; whereof he acknowledged her Highness to have Intelligence, and the Cause already to have been in Conference by her Counsel. And for the Word *(hath)* he saith it contained no such Absurdity, but with good Zeal it might be maintained. And therefore such Vehemency and

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Sharpneſs of Speech, he ſaid, was more than requiſite, yea more than convenient. And as for the Obſcurity, he ſaid, of Men that would mean well, it could not be miſconſtrued; and to stay or prevent Devices paſt, he thought it but noncil Policy, which being otherwiſe uſed in a Prince's Caſe, is not to be diſliked. He remembred her Highneſs's Unwillingneſs to puniſh ſuch Offences, and therefore though the Law be ſharp, yet ſuch is her Mildneſs, that if any have offended for ſo much as may concern her Perſon, ſurely he thought it would not be executed; and her Clemency tempered with Authority could never grow to Cruelty, wherein what his Conſcience was, he thought not fit to make further Shew thereof; but ſimply and plainly he would deal herein, not meaning to treat in ſuch Sort, as if he thought to deſerve Thanks, or any Thing of her Majeſty; for what he did, he did it alſo as mindful of his own Safety.

* Another ſpake (whoſe Name is not expreſſed in the aforeſaid anonymous Journal) ſhewing the Weight of the Matter, which was then in Hand, to reſt as well on the general Safety of the Subject, as on the Preſervation of her Majeſty's Perſon; and therefore he could not but approve the Effect of the whole, both in Bill and Addition; albeit for the Pains in the Bill he was ſomewhat variant from that which was there offered, and in the Underſtanding of ſome Words he was doubtful; as for the Word *Compaſſing*, he made ſome Queſtion; of this, *bodily Hurt*, he had no perfect Intelligence, ſince the Hurt of Body may grow by Grief of Mind, and Grief of Mind perhaps by ſmall Cauſe. He alſo ſaid, that, ſaving in the Statute of 27 *H.* VIII. he hath not read it. But further, he ſaid, that he that would not allow her for lawful Queen, in his Conceit, ſhould alſo be called a Traitor; but for the ſpeaking of thoſe moſt ſlanderous Words of Heretick, Infidel, Schiſmatic, he would not any Man to be for the firſt Offence taken as a Traitor; for that the not acknowledging of the Supremacy, being a far greater Offence, is but the Pain of *Præmunire*. And therefore,

fore, except the ſame Offence alſo might be made Treaſon, he could not like thereof. But if it ſhould ſo ſeem to them good, that it ſhould be as he indeed wiſhed, then was he well pleaſed to put them both to one Predicament. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'And for the Word *Heretic*, he ſaid, that the Papiſts all, of Force, muſt be forced to ſay, Her Majeſty is one; or that they themſelves muſt be content to carry the Name, and to be noted *Nomine*, as they are *Re et Veritate*, Heretics, which Name they willingly will not bear. He further ſaid, that with the reſt of thoſe Words of Slander, he thought it might do well to inſert the Name *Papiſt*. That if any Man ſhould ſay her Majeſty to be an Infidel, Papiſt, or Heretic. *&c.* to be a Traytor; for that ſome ſay, there are in theſe Days that do not ſpare to ſay, Her Majeſty is of another Religion than is publiſhed; that it is the ſole Doing of the Counſellors, whereby the Doctrine (in Sort as it is) is thus publiſhed, and not her's. He alſo added, that his Wiſh was, that no Man might be attainted of theſe Words, except the Speech or Publication might be teſtified by two Witneſſes. For the Additions, he ſaid, Aſſuredly they might not be ſevered from the firſt Bill, not only as they are Matters materially depending on the firſt, but ſtretching ſo far to the Maintenance of the firſt, that without them the firſt may ſeem to be nothing. For, ſaid he, there can be no Remedy provided, except the Cauſe of the Grief be known, and the ſame Cauſe removed; wherein the Rebels of the North gave clear Experiment: For doubtleſs, when they pretended Reformation of Religion, they thought to rend up the Ground, and ſubvert the Stay thereof, which was her Majeſty's Perſon; and by them he wiſhed us to learn at laſt, and to wax wiſer. He ſaid, the Court of Chancery will ſtraitly decree for ſaving and quiet keeping of a quiet Poſſeſſion, often looking to ordering Things before paſt, and ſhall not the Court of Parliament do the like for the Title of the Crown? And the ancient Laws of the Realm (he ſaid) do maintain the ſame, as long before the 35 *H.* VIII. the Stat. 5 *E.* III.

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. in such like Cases hath ordained, that the Heir of the Father's Offence shall be punished; *consule locum citatum.*

'Mr. *Mounson* said, It were horrible to say, that the Parliament hath no Authority to determine of the Crown; for then would ensue, not only the annihilating of the Statute 35 *H.* VIII. but that the Statute made in the first Year of her Majesty's Reign, of Recognition, should also be laid void; a Matter containing a greater Consequence than is convenient to be uttered.

'Mr. *Heneage* moved the House to this Effect, that either the Bill for Addition should be severed, or both to be referred to the Queen's learned Counsel, to consider of the Conveniency thereof; and then by them to be exhibited, *&c.* but of his Opinion he yielded no further Reason.

'Mr. *Long*, a young Gentlemen, would have proved the Word *(have)* and a Regard of the Time past, not to be amiss, for that at the Time of the Offence the Malice of the Offender was as great as it is at this present.

'Mr. *Fleetwood* endeavoured to prove the overcharging of the Bill with larger Words than were convenient, and more Provisoes than were to the Purpose, to have been the Overthrow of that which was truly meant; wherein the cunning Adversary, when he knoweth not how to subvert directly, will by this Means easily and subtilly insert more, pretending a Face of more Forwardness than the rest, when indeed his Heart is bent to the Hindrance of the whole. For Proof and Experience hereof, he remembred the cunning Prelates in *Henry* the Fourth's Time, and afterwards in *Edward* the Fourth's Time, when King *Edward* required the Suppressing of all such Abbies, as King *H.* VI. had erected. To hinder this, contrary to the King's Meaning, some would needs add the Colleges in *Cambridge* which by him were also founded; to which, when by no Means the House could be induced, as well the Intent of the first, as of the last, was subverted.

'The

'The like he remembred also of the second Year of *H.* VII. in matter of Treason, which all Men would have yielded unto; the counterfeit Friend heaped in, to give the King free Liberty of Restitution to whom he would, of all, both Goods and Possessions, whereof the Inconveniency being seen, Stay was made of the whole. So that, what Men may not do directly, with Face of further Friendship they do covertly. He concluded therefore, it were well, and most safe, to make two Bills, and to be referred to the Queen's learned Counsel, as Mr. *Heneage* had well divided. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*, first answering the Meaning of the Words *(bodily Hurt)* said, It must be intended when Violence and Force is done or offered to the Body, and not otherwise, or elsewhere. And whether the Words of Slander should be Treason, he thought that there was great Reason they should be; for (quoth he) who so shall affirm her Highness to be an Heretic, doth doubtless wish her the Pains of an Heretic, *viz.* to be burnt, *&c.* He further would have to be added to these Words of the Bill, That whosoever shall affirm himself to have Title, *&c.* to be a Traitor. He was of further Opinion, that it should be no Clogging to the Bill, to have Matter of the same Nature added; being also provided for the same Purpose, as good, consequent, and necessarily concurring with the Effect of the Bill. And for the Authority of the Parliament, he said, It could not, in reasonable Construction, be otherwise, for whoso should deny that Authority, doth deny the Queen to be Queen, and the Realm to be a Realm.

'After which, Mr. *Alford* and Mr. *Dalton* spake severally to the said Bill, touching certain Offences, to be made Treasons. Whose Speeches containing no new Matter at all in them, more than hath been formerly spoken, are omitted in that often-before-cited *anonymous Journal*, out of which all these foregoing Speeches are transcribed. After all which, the Business was at length brought to this Head, to be referred to a Committee.

'All

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'All the Privy Council being Members of this Houſe, Sir *Chriſtopher Heydon*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*, Mr. Serjeant *Jeoffry*, Mr. *Heneage*, Mr. *Stoaks*, Mr. *John Vaughan*, Mr. *Bell*, Mr. *Mounſon*, Mr. *Popham*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Dalton*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Yelverton*, Mr. *Goodier*, Mr. *Alford* and Mr. *Long*, were appointed to meet in the Star-Chamber.'

Debate on a Bill for the Suppreſſing of Simony;

April 13th, the Bill for ſuppreſſing of Simony in Preſentations to Benefices was read the firſt Time, on which Mr. *Snagg* obſerved, 'That the Cauſe of the Slanders, which the Papiſts have againſt the Church of *England*, in that they ſay Coblers, Taylors, Tinkers, Millers, *&c.* are of the Miniſtry, groweth hereby, that the Livings are detained by the Patrons from the Spiritual, in their own Hands, to their own private Uſes; whereas the firſt Original of the Creation of Patronages being conſidered, it appeareth that nothing is left to the Patron of Right. The Manner of their Original he ſhewed at large, and that the ſame was granted *Deo et Eccleſiæ*; and concluded that the Patron had nothing of Worth or Value, but a bare Nomination, if it be truly uſed; ſince that, dealing ſincerely, he is neither to reſpect Commodity, Blood, Affection, Friendſhip, nor any thing elſe, but the Worth and Sufficiency of the Man, *&c.*'

Another relating to Vagabonds.

The ſame Day the Bill againſt Vagabonds was read a firſt Time, and, tho' not uſual in ſuch Caſes, divers Speeches enſued, of which this is an Abſtract;

'Mr. *St. John* moved, that an old Bill, before this Time exhibited into the Lower Houſe, concerning this Matter, might be peruſed.

'Mr. *Sandys* endeavoured to prove this Law for Beggars, to be over ſharp and bloody, ſtanding much on the Care which is to be had for the Poor; ſaying, That it might be poſſible with ſome Travail had by the Juſtices, to relieve every man at his own Houſe, and to ſtay them from wandering. This Experience he ſhewed, and what was done in the County of *Worceſter*. Mr. Treaſurer talked to this

this Effect, That he would have a Bridewell in every Town, and every Tipler in the County to yield twelve Pence yearly to the Maintenance thereof. Queen Elizabeth's 1571.

'Mr. *Wilson*, a Master of the Requests, argued thus, That Poor of necessity we must have, for so Christ hath said, until his second Coming; And, as true it is, said he also, That Beggars, by God's Word, might not be amongst his People: *Ne sit Mendicus inter vos.* His Experience he shewed through the greatest Part of Christendom, concluding, that such Looseness and Lewdness was no where as here: He said, It was no Charity to give such a one as we know not, being a Stranger unto us. Thus, said he, did the *Locrenses* constitute by their Laws. Even as of Thieves did the *Grecians* judge of them. To the Pain of the Constables for their remiss Dealings, he wished might be conjoined Imprisonement.'

On the 14th, the Bill for Reformation of the Book of Common Prayer was read a first Time, which occasioned another Debate: Debate on a Bill for reforming the Common Prayer.

'Mr. Treasurer of her Majesty's Household reasoned to this Effect, That if the Matters mentioned to be reformed were Heretical, then verily they were presently to be condemned; but if they are but Matters of Ceremony, then it behoveth us to refer the same to her Majesty, who hath Authority, as Chief of the Church, to deal herein. And for us to meddle with Matters of her Prerogative, quoth he, it were not expedient. Withal, he said, what Cause there might be to make her Majesty not to run and join with those who seem to be most earnest, we are not to search; whether it be, for that in Time and Order she hopeth to bring them with her, or what other secret Cause or Scruple there might be in the Heart of Princes, it is not for all People to know.

'Mr. Comptroller argued to this Effect, as afore, commending the Zeal, but that the Place and Time were not fit. And since we acknowledge her to be Supreme

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. Supreme Head, we are not in these petty Matters to run before the Ball, which to do, and therein to offend, were great Folly; how forwarned we were herein, he did then refer to our Consideration, insinuating in some sort, that our heady and hasty Proceedings, contrary to and before the Law, did rather hinder than help.

'Hereupon Mr. *Pistor*, with a grave and seemly Countenance, and good natural Eloquence, shewed how Conscience enforced him to speak; and rather to hazard his Credit than to the Offence of his Conscience be silent: Albeit he would acknowledge willingly, that many Hundreds of that honourable and worshipful Assembly, were able to teach him, and he indeed willingly to learn of them all. The Matter of his Grief was, that Matters of Importance standing us upon for our Souls, stretching higher and further to every one of us than the Monarchy of the whole World, were either not treated of, or so slenderly, that now, after more than ten Days continual Consultation, nothing was thereon concluded. This Cause he shewed to be God's, the rest are all but terrene, yea Trifles in Comparison; call you them never so great, or pretend you, that they import never so much; Subsidies, Crowns, Kingdoms, he knew not, he said, What they were in Comparison of this; this, he said, I know, whereof he most thanked God, *primum quærite Regnum Dei, & cætera omnia adjicientur vobis.* This Rule is the Direction, and this Desire shall bring us to the Light, whereupon we may stay, and then proceed unto the rest; for in his Word, and by him we learn, as saith St. *Paul*, to correct, reform, *&c.* Our true Home certainly is not here, *Non habemus hic permanentem Civitatem:* And the Justice of God moved Terror unto all, which he seemed to mean concerning the Bill before-mentioned of *Strickland*'s Propositions. And so did set it forth with Vehemency, that there lacked no Modesty; and with such Eloquence, that it neither seemed studied, nor too much

much affected, but grave and learned throughout, and no whit too long, but very well approved of. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'And after him Mr. *Snagg*, and far after him indeed, either for Order, Proof, or Matter, he entered into the Discourse of *Strickland's* Articles, and seemed to maintain them; this namely, not to kneel at the receiving of the Communion, but rather, if a Law hereof should be made, to lie prostrate, to shun the old Superstition; or otherwise to set every Man at Liberty, and in this Behalf to do according to his Conscience and Devotion, he judged it to be nothing derogatory or contrary to the Prerogative; and the Direction, he thought fit to be left out of the Book, which should be a Law, &c.

'After which Arguments, it was, upon the Question, agreed, That a Petition should be made by this House unto the Queen's Majesty, for her Licence and Privity to proceed in this Bill, before it be any further dealt in.'

'The same Day the Bill against Licences and Dispensations, granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was put to the Question, Whether it should be read or no? It was over-ruled in the Affirmative, and had thereupon its first Reading. After which, Mr. *Alford* (although a Bill be not usually spoken unto till after the second Reading) spake against the Bill; and endeavoured to prove, that Licences for Marriages in some Cases might be needful, and that Dispensations also for Non-residence might, upon some Occasion, be of great Necessity; as if a Minister should be employed upon some Foreign Ambassage, or other Matter of great Weight. Debate on a Bill against Licences, &c. by the Abp. of Canterbury.

'Mr. *Yelverton* much disliked, as it should seem, Mr. *Alford's* Speech; and spake very vehemently in Maintenance of the Bill, alledging, that, as he thought, no good Christian could be against it; in respect that by the very Words of the Bill it appears, that it was only framed for the Suppression of such Licences and Dispensations, as were contrary to the Word of God.

'Mr. *Dalton* spake next, against the Bill; and grounded his Opinion only upon this vain Supposition,

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sition, That a Bishop can do nothing contrary to the Word of God.

'Mr. *Beadle* spake next, in Maintenance of the Bill; but the Substance of his Speech is so briefly and imperfectly set down, as it cannot be gathered what his Reasons were.

'Mr. *Manwood* spake very judiciously and moderately, allowing well the Scope and Meaning of the Law; but wished, that in respect it mentioneth the Redress of many Grievances, those same Grievances might first be particularly made known to the House, before the Bill were any farther proceeded in.

'Mr. *Fleetwood* approved the Bill, yet spake not directly for it; but very covertly guirded at the Ecclesiastical Judges, and the Office of Faculties; shewing also in the Conclusion of his Speech, that Livings are given to Ministers for the instructing the King and his People, and for the Keeping of House, and other Deeds of Charity. All which, if they were absent by Dispensation, he inferred must of Necessity be neglected.

'Serjeant *Lovelace* lastly, as it should seem, concluded further Speech in this Business, shewing the Use and Commodity of this Bill in Question; but doubted that there was not Power enough given therein, nor sufficient Remedy provided for Redress of the Mischiefs thereby supposed to grow, by reason of the granting the aforesaid Licence and Dispensations. Upon which, it should seem, that some Members of the House were appointed to consider of the said Bill, but their Names are not found in the original *Journal Book* of the House of Commons, or in that before-cited *anonymous Journal*, out of which both the preceeding and ensuing Speeches are transcribed.

'Mr. *Norton* made a Motion by warrant of this Court, by the Wisdom and godly Care which in Matters of Weight was to be employed, That to avoid the shameful and most hateful Usage amongst the Ecclesiastical Judges, for delivering of Clerks convict upon their Oaths, and the manifest Perjury there,

there, by their Law againſt the Law, committed, ſome Order might be taken. He proved it might not be ſaid a Liberty of the Church, except they will claim a Liberty to Sin; wherein indeed their principal Liberty hath ſtood, and for the which they have not ſpared to hazard, nay to give, both their Bodies and Souls to become Traitors to God and Man. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Thus did that Rebel Biſhop *Becket*, whoſe principal Quarrel and chief Cauſe of all his Stir, was, that the King would have puniſhed one of his Mark, a Prieſt, for an abominable Inceſt committed by him: Which trifling Fault (forſooth) this holy Saint could not endure to be rebuked of by a Temporal Judge. *Et hinc illæ Iræ.* He ſhewed, it could not be termed a Privilege, and Encouragement to Learning, ſince it was no other but a Cloak for their Naughtineſs, and for ſuch as might be of the Pope's Sect. As well appeared, in that it was allowed to none but to ſuch as might enter their Holy Orders, and not to one that had two Wives. He ſhewed at large the Circumſtance of their practiſed Orders, upon the Purgation of ſuch Clerks, declaring of Truth ſo diſordered and hateful Doings, that the whole Houſe reſolved to take Care for Redreſs.

'There was then next after, by the Policy of Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, a Motion made by one to have in Talk the Griefs which before had been uttered in the Houſe, concerning the deceitful Dealings of Treaſurers and Receivers, the Reformation of the Exchequer for Homage, *&c.* and for the granting of Licences by the Queen, contrary to the Form of ſundry Statutes. Bill concerning Treaſurers, &c.

'Hereupon Sir *Humphry Gilbert* ſtanding up, and ſome Introduction made to crave Patience and Toleration of the Houſe, he endeavoured to prove the Motion of Mr. *Bell*, made ſome Days before, to be a vain Device to be thought of, and perilous to be treated of; ſince it tended to the Derogation of the Prerogative Imperial; which, who ſhould attempt in his Fancy, could not otherwiſe be accounted than an open Enemy. For what Differ-

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ence is to say, the Queen is not to use the Privilege of the Crown, and to say she is not Queen; since they are so linked together, that the one without the other may not possibly be, or subsist? We are, said he, to give to a common Constable the Right and Regard of his Office; which if we should deny her, what is it other than to make her meaner than the meanest; And albeit Experience hath shewed such and so great Clemency in her Majesty, as might make us perhaps forfeit ourselves; yet it is not good to sport or venture too much with Princes; yea, let be that our Meaning be good, yet if it be not so thought of, how then? He remembred the Fable of the Hare, which fled upon the Proclamation, that all horned Beasts should depart the Court, lest his Ears should be said to be Horns. This did he further inculcate, with this further Signification, that if we should in any Sort meddle with those Matters, her Majesty might look to her own Power; and thereby finding her Validity to suppress the Strength of the challenged Liberty, and to challenge and use her Power any Way, to do as did *Lewis* of *France*, who, as he termed it, delivered the Crown there out of Wardship, which the said *French* King did upon like Occasion. He also said, that other Kings had absolute Power, as *Denmark* and *Portugal*; where as the Crown became more free, so are all the Subjects thereby the rather made Slaves.

'This Speech was disliked, as implying many Occasions of Mischief; but for the present he was not answered further, than that it seemed he did mistake the Meaning of the House, and of the Gentleman that made the Motion; who would it not otherwise to be taken, or otherwise for the House to deal in the Matter, than to shew their common Griefs in due and seemly Sort unto her Majesty.

'The Parliament was then by the Consent of the House, for that it was *Easter* Eve, adjourned until *Thursday* next; and it was agreed, that they should from thenceforth come to the House at seven of the Clock in the Morning. During which said Time of *Easter*, Mr. *Strickland*, so often before mentioned,

for

for the Exhibiting the Bill for Reformation of Ceremonies, and his Speech thereupon, was called before the Lords of the Privy Council; and required to attend upon them, and to make Stay from coming to the House in the mean Season. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'On *Thursday*, the 19th Day of *April*, to which Day the House of Commons had been, on *Saturday* the 14th Day of this Instant *April* foregoing, adjourned; the Bill for the restraining of *Kentish* and *Sussex* Cloths to be sold at the Fairs at *Maidston*, was read the first Time.

'The Bill for the Validity of Burgesses not resiant, was read the second Time; upon which ensued divers Arguments.

'The first Man that spoke effectually to this Bill, was Mr. *Warnecombe* of *Hereford*; who, standing up, said to this Effect, That it behoveth all those which were Burgesses, to see to that Bill; for, quoth he, this may touch and over-reach their whole Liberties, as not having whereunto to stay; but that Lords Letters shall from henceforth bear all the Sway: And to this Effect was all that he said. Debate on a Bill relating to the Validity of Burgesses not resiant.

'Mr. *Norton* first made Explanation of the Meaning of the Bill, to be (he said) to shame the Imperfection of Choice, which is too often seen, by sending of unfit Men; and lest happly any Thing might be objected to the Imperfection of the Parliament, which may seem to be scant sufficient by reason of the Choice made by Boroughs, for the most Part of Strangers. (Whereas by the positive Law, no Man ought to be chosen Burgess for any Borough, but only Resiants and Inhabitants.) He said further, that the Choice should be of such as were able, and fit for so great a Place and Employment, without Respect of Privilege of Place or Degree; for that, by reason of his being a Burgess, it might not be intended as though he was any thing the wiser; withal, he argued, that the whole Body of the Realm, and the good Service of the same, was rather to be respected, than the private Regard of Place, Privilege, or Degree of any Person.

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'Then Mr. Speaker moved the Opinion of the Houſe, whether they could like the Bill ſhould be ingroſſed? and coming to the Queſtion, ſome ſaid, No; but the greater Number ſeemed to ſay, Yea.

'Whereupon one ſtanding up, whoſe Name is not expreſſed, ſaid thus. I run wholly with the Pretence of the Bill, that Boroughs decayed may be eaſed or relieved, knowing aſſuredly the ſame honourable for the Realm, and in many Reſpects profitable and commodious to thoſe who do inhabit the Countries adjacent to ſuch decayed Towns; that it is ſo, I will not ſtand to perſuade. How far this Law may help them I know not; if they be decayed, then it is moſt fit for them, that of their own Company there may be ſome, who feeling the Smart, can beſt make Relation of their Eſtate; and knowing the Country, may deviſe and adviſe of ſuch Helps, as without the Hurts of other Places may reſtore the old Ruins. All Things are in Change, and nothing ſo ſuppreſſed, but by God's Grace the ſame may in Time by Policy be raiſed up. But, to open my Meaning ſhortly, the Queſtion is, What Sort of Men are to come to this Court, and publick Conſultation in Parliament? Whether from every Quarter, Country, and Town, there ſhould come (as I might ſay) Home-Dwellers, or otherwiſe Men choſen by Directions, it forceth not whom? I am ſurely of Mind, that neither for the good Service of her Majeſty, Safety of our Country, or ſtanding with the Liberty, which of Right we may challenge (being born Subjects within the Realm) this Scope is to be given; or ſuch Looſeneſs in Choiſe to be permitted. That the whole Land of this Realm, we know, is to be for three Purpoſes employed, and thereby three Sorts of Men are, as it were, created.

The one Part given in *Frank Almoigne*, or for Divine Service to be uſed, to the Glory of God and Miniſtry of his Word.

'The ſecond Part to be holden for Defence againſt our Enemies, by the Sword.

'The

'The Third for Maintenance of our Livelihood at Home, and for neceſſary Employments here. Queen Elibabeth 1571.
Of theſe three Grounds, in the firſt Diviſion there groweth, to our Knowledge, three Sorts of Men: The Miniſters and Teachers of the Goſpel, of whom we muſt have Care, and with whom, in making of Laws we muſt confer, if we will be Chriſtians. The ſecond are the Nobility, Knights and Soldiers, the Defenders and Fortreſſes againſt our Enemies. The third Sort be the Providers, Deviſors and Executors of all Things neceſſary, commodious or ſeemly for a ſettled Eſtate (which hath the Happineſs to live there where are *Pax et Juſtitia*) for Increaſe of our Wealths, Suſtenance of our Laws, the Governing of Bodies, or what elſe ſoever is neceſſary for us: Such are the Counſellors, ſuch are the Judges and Miniſters of the Laws, ſuch be the Tillers of the Earth, ſuch be Merchants, ſuch be Victuallers, and in this Degree be thoſe, who do uſe manual and mechanical Arts. Of all theſe, in like ſort; as of the others, Regard, Care and Reſpect muſt be had; they throughly conſulted with, the general and particular States are by them to be known, if we mean to proceed for the pulic Weal, or endeavour in the ſame a true Perfection. Theſe laſt Sort making one Kind are moſt ample, and thereto moſt effectual to be dealt with, as yielding to the reſt *ſupplementum, conſilium, et auxilium.*

'The ſecond Sort is likewiſe moſt neceſſary to be thought of. The firſt are beſt, and firſt to be followed; but thoſe are all to be in one Knot conjoined, and as Members of one Body in one to be uſed. We may, in regard of Religion, lie in the Dike (as the Proverb is) long enough without our own Aid, if we do nothing but pray for the Help of *Hercules*. We may not truſt only to the Sword, leſt the common known Saying of *Cicero* ſhould turn to our Shame: *Parva ſunt foris arma, niſi conſilium domi.* Neither our Preaching nor our Praying to God are only ſufficient, but withal we muſt do our Endeavours, and help each other; ſince for the driving away of a Dog there is (as the Country-man ſaith)

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

ſaith) ſome Virtue in a Stone, if it be conjoined with St. *John's* Goſpel; I mean, that every Part of the Body ſhould do his own Part to the Aid of the other; and the Hand to help the Hand, the Foot to help the Foot, *&c.* This hath moved our Forefathers, and on this Ground hath it grown, that in this Court where we are to conſider of all, and (as Occaſion may ſerve) to alter, conſtitute, or reform all Things, as Cauſe ſhall be, that we do know all Sorts of Men, ſo far as may be to help all. How may her Majeſty, or how may this Court know the Eſtate of her Frontiers, or who ſhall make Report of the Ports, or how every Quarter, Shire or Country is in State? We who never have ſeen *Berwick* or St. *Michael's* Mount, can but blindly gueſs of them, albeit we look on the Maps, that came from thence, or ſee Letters of Inſtruction ſent; ſome one whom Obſervation, Experience, and due Conſideration of that Country hath taught, can more perfectly open what ſhall in Queſtion thereof grow, and more effectually reaſon thereupon, than the ſkilfulleſt otherwiſe whatſoever. And that they ſhould be the very Inhabiters of the ſeveral Countries of this Kingdom, who ſhould be here in Times certain employed, doubtleſs it was the true Meaning of ancient Kings and our Forefathers, who firſt began and eſtabliſhed this Court. But, leaving what I cannot reach unto, the firſt Conſtitution and Freedom of this Court, the old Preſident of Parliament-Writs do teach us, that of every Country their own Burgeſſes ſhould be elected; the Writ to the Sheriff and Borough is directly ſo; and the Writs to the Cities being Counties, are, *Quod ex vobis ipſis eligatis duos Cives, &c.* which do prove it to be ſo; the Statute in the 1 *H.* V. for the Confirmation of the old Laws was therefore made, and not to create a new unknown Law; and that other in the—*H.* VI. was made to redreſs the Miſchief, which by Breach of that old Law did grow. Theſe do conclude it without Contradiction, that for that Time it was thought fit to continue the ancient Uſe, Liberty, and Conveniency of Service. We know that ſuch as

have ſpent their whole Time in Service, or have ſeen only the Manner of Government of other Nations, and can tell you how the Crown of *France* is delivered out of Wardſhip; or otherwiſe tell a Tale of the King of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, how they in making of Laws do uſe their own Diſcretion; the King of *Denmark* uſeth the Advice of his Nobles only, and nothing of his Commons; nor can paint you out the monſtrous Garments of the common People in ſome Parts of *Germany*, or the mangled Commonwealth of the Allies, or Shadows of the great Cities, which now are to be ſeen in *Italy*; ſurely all thoſe Men, except they know alſo our own Homes, are not to be truſted to conclude for our own Home-Affairs. Doubtleſs the beſt learned for Matters of Commodity to be raiſed, or to be wrought in his own Country, may happily give Place to his own Neighbours; even as wiſely and learnedly a Gentleman ſaid of late, In every Commitment, according to the Matter, there muſt be a Declaration of Men, as for Merchandize the Merchant and ſo forth: *Unicuique in ſuâ arte perito credendum*, we hold for a Maxim. And, I mean this wholly to no other End, but ſince we deal univerſally for all Sorts and all Places, that there be here of all Sorts, and all Countries, and not (ſeeing you liſt ſo to term it) thus to eaſe them of Towns and Boroughs, that they may chuſe at Liberty whom they liſt; yet can I hardly call that a Liberty, which is contrary to that which the King and the Queen commonly granteth as a free Gift, and by theſe Words, *Et de majori gratia noſtra, &c. dedimus poteſtatem, &c. quod de ſeipſis eligant duos Burgenſes*, or *duos Cives*; we take it more for a man to have of his own, than to have (by any Man's Diſcretion) of another. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'It hath been of late oft and well ſaid, that to nominative another to a Benefice is nothing worth in Value, but if it be, that a Man may take the Benefit himſelf, that is both valuable and eſtimable; that cannot hurt, that is ever good for me, if it be ever tied in neareſt ſort unto me; and for this Reaſon we ſay in Law, That the Eſtate Tail, which muſt

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. continue in our own Blood, is better than the Eſtate in Fee ſimple, which may be got further from us, and is to be given to Strangers at Pleaſure; Miſchiefs and Inconveniences there may grow by this Liberty; but a Miſchief it may be to me, and inconvenient alſo to utter the ſame: I will not ſpeak thereof but dutifully, neither do I ſee any thing that is amiſs at this preſent; what was done a hundred Years ſince, I may ſafely tell, and thus it was;

'A Duke of this Realm wrote his Letters to a City, which I know, to this Effect; whereby he did ſignify, that a Parliament was to be ſummoned in ſhort Time, and that for great Cauſes he was to crave Aid of all his Friends, and, reckoning them amongſt the reſt, he wiſhed them of four under-nominated to chuſe two; the Letter under the Duke's Seal is ſtill preſerved, but hear you the Anſwer; he was written to with due Humbleneſs, that they were prohibited by Law, they might chuſe none of them. I will venture a little nearer.

'In Queen *Mary's* Time, a Council of this Realm (not the Queen's Privy-Council) did write to a Town, to chuſe a Biſhop's Brother, (and a great Biſhop's Brother it was indeed) whom they aſſured to be a good Catholic Man; and willed them to chuſe to the like of him ſome other fit Man. The Council was anſwered with Law. And if all Towns in *England* had done the like in their Choice, the Crown had not been ſo wronged, and the Realm ſo robbed with ſuch Eaſe at that Parliament, and Truth baniſhed as it was; what hath been, may be; there is no Impoſſibility. It will be ſaid, I miſtake, it is not meant, but that Towns ſhall be at Liberty to chuſe whom they liſt. I ſay, that Liberty is the Loſs of Liberty; for when, by Law, they may do what they will, they may not well deny what ſhall be required. It is too truly ſaid, *Rogando cogit qui rogat potentior*. And, I have known one that to avoid a great Man's Diſpleaſure, that dwelt near him, that was deſirous, as he knew, to buy his Land, did, upon ſmall Occaſion, bind himſelf not to alienate his Land from his true Heirs: This being known,

I mean

I mean that he was bound as aforesaid, the great Man was contented to let him keep his own quietly, which otherwise he would not have done. Surely Law is the only Fortress of the Inferior Sort of People and contrary to the Law, the greater Sort will not desire to expect any thing. Though now at this present, God be praised, we need not to fear the Greatness of any Man, Justice is so well administred: Yet hereafter, whatsoever hath been we may fear, either for Maintenance of Faction, or Maintenance of Mischief. Again, I say, it may be, what heretofore was possible again may be. We stand, and have stood of late upon the notorious Manifestation of the Authority of Parliament; except withal you keep the ancient Usage of the same, and withal endeavoured the Freedom thereof, in Effect you do nothing, if I guess aright. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'It is further said, That in some Towns there are not Men of Discretion fit; they be not the wiser (said the Gentleman that spoke before) for being Burgesses. I can never be persuaded, but that either the Lord, whose the Town is, be the Town never so little; or the Steward, if it be the Queen's, or some good Gentleman of the Country adjoinant, will either assign them who know the Town, and can be content to be free among them, and to serve by their Appointment, for their Country, and for them; or else for some reasonable Fee, such as be of their learned Council, and who know them, and the Country will deal for them. I mean it not so strictly, that those who should be chosen, should of necessity be Dwellers in the Town; but to be either of the Town, or towards the Town, Borderers and near Neighbours at the least: And, to this Effect I would the Bill were framed. I stand too long hereon, and Abundance of Matter occasioned Confusion; this is all. It was meant at the first, and first Constitution of Parliament, that Men of every Quarter, and of all Sorts, should come to this Court that they should be freely chosen. This in every Age hitherto hath seemed best; to alter without Cause is not convenient; to give every Town

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Liberty, may offer in Time Inconvenience. None so fit for every Country as those who know the same. To chuse of their own, it is a Liberty; to lose their Liberty, I think it a bad Commodity, call it as you please; by such Kind of Release in easing Men of their Wealths, or some good Part of their Living, we beshrew our Charity. And in like Sort, and in like Reason, it seems to me this Law is inferred out of the Preface of the same. For thus it is penned:

'Forasmuch as some Towns are decayed, and 'have not of their own, therefore let every Town 'do what they list.' Of a particular Proposition to make a general Conclusion, it is against our Rules; and nothing, as saith the Philosopher, is more absurd than *non causam pro causa*. Some Towns cannot send fit Men; it standeth very strongly, if you seek to help, let the Plaister be fit for the Sore; let not the Salve be stretched too far, lest the whole and sound Flesh, by the broad spreading of the Salve, do either smart, fret, or fester. The Medicine, which healeth the sick Man, may be Poison for the whole and sound Man. All Citizens and Burgesses should not be thought alike, and all provided for, as there is due Cause. Let there be therefore convenient Consideration, how to heal, how to hurt. And, I could wish, according to the Weight of the Matter, it might be rather staid on, than thus abruptly over-ruled; and while we fly *Scylla*, we fall not into *Charybdis*; while we say that Boroughs cannot send to this High Court so fit Men as be convenient, that by altering the ancient Usage, which is the only Warrant and sole Stay of Freedom in Parliament, it may happily be said we have no Parliament now within this Realm, nor Liberty at all for any such here to be holden.'

'Mr. *Bell*, in Answer to this, did collect the Substance of what had been said, and in a long Discourse shewed, that it was necessary all Places should be provided for, and not Boroughs only, being but one of the Members of the Commonwealth; and that some of them have neither Wealth to provide

vide fit Men, nor themſelves any in any Sort convenient. He thought not amiſs, if, in reſpect of thoſe manifeſt Wants, convenient Supply ſhould be; but, without the Warrant of Parliament, ſuch Alteration might not be. He then thought it not amiſs to be adviſed. And for the Objection of the Danger which may enſue by reaſon of the Letters of Noblemen; he could not, he ſaid, but think it convenient to prevent the ſame; and therefore wiſhed, that there might be the Penalty of Forty Pounds upon every Borough, that ſhould make ſuch Election at the Nomination of any Nobleman.' Queen Elizabeth, 1571.

'Mr. *Alford* reaſoned to this Effect, That above all Things, neceſſary Care ought to be for the chuſing and having of fit Men to ſupply the Place, that there be not Imperfection. And therefore noted one great Diſorder, that many young Men, not experienced, for Learning Sake were often choſen, through whoſe Default he knew not; whether Letters of Noblemen, Love or Affection in the Country, their own Ambition, or the careleſs Accompt of the Electors, or what elſe was the Cauſe, he knew not; but it was to be ſeen: Whereupon he would, none ſhould be of that Houſe, not of thirty Years of Age at the leaſt. And for the Choice of Townſmen, he ſaid, he was of his Mind, that *Moſes* and *Aaron* ſhould be conjoined together; and that there ſhould be one of their own, or ſome Gentleman near them, who had Knowledge of the State of the Country; and the other a Man learned, and able to utter his Mind and Opinion, ſince that Knowledge locked up in the Breaſt, not being orderly opened, is to no purpoſe; and this Part, he ſaid, was as requiſite for Conſultation as the other. So that he ſeemed to conclude the Law ſhould be in Force for the one Burgeſs, and at Liberty for the other.

'After which Speeches the aforeſaid Bill touching the Validity of Burgeſſes, *&c.* was ordered to be committed to Sir *Thomas Hilton*, Knight; Mr. *Bell*, Mr. *Robert Bowes*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Warnecomb*, Mr. *Bedle*, Mr. *Atkins*, Mr. *Alford* and Mr. *Gynes*; and

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and appointed to meet in the *Temple Church*, upon *Saturday* next, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

April the 19th, the Bill againſt Uſury was read the ſecond Time, which occaſion'd another Debate in the Houſe. And,

Debate on a Bill againſt Uſury.

'Firſt one Mr. *Clarke* ſpoke to this Effect, That the referring of the Puniſhment in the Bill mentioned, being put to the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, for ſo much was nothing; for that they are to puniſh by the Civil Law, by the Canon Law, or by the Temporal Law. The Civil Law would not avail them, becauſe by that Law there is Allowance of Uſury. The Canon Law is aboliſhed; and in that Reſpect the Temporal Law ſaith nothing; ſo that the Pretence may ſeem to be ſomewhat, but the Effect thereby wrought is nothing; yet that it was ill, neither Chriſtian nor Pagan ever denied. *Ariſtotle* being aſk'd what Uſury was? he ſaid it was, *Præter Naturam*, and therefore could not be defined. *Plato*, being aſk'd the ſame Queſtion, anſwer'd, it was, *Idem ac Hominem occidere*. St *Auguſtine* the ſame; and, in the very Words of the *Pſalmiſt*, anſwereth to the Queſtion, *Domine, quis habitabit in Tabernaculo tuo?* He ſaid, *Qui curat Proximo ſuo, non decipit eum, & qui Pecuniam ſuam non dabit ad Uſuram.*

Mr. *Mooly*, firſt learnedly and artificially making an Introduction to the Matter, ſhewed, what it might be thought on for any Man to endeavour the Defence of that which every Preacher at all Times, following the Letter of the Book, did ſpeak againſt; yet, ſaith he, it is convenient, and being in ſome Sort uſed, it is not repugnant to the Word of God. Experience hath proved the great Miſchief which doth grow by reaſon of exceſſive Taking, to the Deſtruction of young Gentlemen, and otherwiſe infinitely; but the Miſchief is of the Exceſs not otherwiſe. Since to take reaſonably, or ſo that both Parties might do Good, was not hurtful; for to have any Man lend his Money without any Commodity, hardly ſhould you bring that to paſs. And ſince every Man is not an Occupier who hath Money, and ſome which have not Money may yet

have

have Skill to use Money, except you should take away or hinder good Trades, Bargaining and Contracting cannot be; God did not so hate it, that he did utterly forbid it, but to the *Jews* amongst themselves only, for that he willed they should lend as Brethren together; for unto all others they were at large; and therefore to this Day they are the greatest Usurers in the World. But be it, as indeed it is, evil, and that Men are Men, no Saints, to do all these Things perfectly, uprightly, and brotherly; yet *ex duobus malis minus malum eligendum*; and better may it be born to permit a little, than utterly to take away and prohibit Traffick; which hardly may be maintained generally without this. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'But it may be said, it is contrary to the direct Word of God, and therefore an ill Law; if it were to appoint Men to take Usury, it were to be disliked; but the Difference is great between that and permitting or allowing, or suffering a Matter to be unpunished. It may be said, that *Nudum Pactum non parit Obligationem*, but there must be somewhat given in Consideration. Let be that there is nothing given of the Lenders, yet there is somewhat *simile*, *& omne bonum Exemplum*, *& omnis Lex in se aliquid habet Mali*; for that some body shall suffer thereby. We are not, quoth he, so straitned to the Word of God, that every Transgression should be surely punished here. Every vain Word is here forbidden by God, yet the Temporal Law doth not so utterly condemn it. As for the Words of the Scripture, he said, the *Hebrew* foundeth thus in Answer of this Question; *Qui non dat Pecuniam suam ad Morsum:* So it is the Biting and over-sharp Dealing which is disliked and nothing else. And this, he said, was the Opinion and Interpretation of the most famous learned Man *Beza*, and, in these Days, of *Bellarmine* and divers others, who say, that the true Interpretation of the *Hebrew* Word is not *Usura*, but *Morsus*.

Dr. *Wilson*, Master of the Requests, said, that in a Matter of so great Weight he could not shortly speak; and acknowledging that he had thoroughly studied

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. ſtudied the Matter, deſired the Patience of the Houſe. And firſt he endeavoured to prove, that the common State may be without Uſury; then he ſhewed, how even Men that have been ignorant of God or his Laws, finding the Evils thereof by their Laws, redreſſed it; and utterly prohibited the Uſe thereof. As the *Athenians* cauſed all the Writings taken for Intereſt Money to be burnt; and the like did *Lycurgus* by a Law which he made, and ſeeing the Fire, he ſaid, he never ſaw ſo fair a Flame as thoſe Books yielded. He then made a Definition of Uſury, ſhewing it was taking of any Reward, or Price or Sum, over and above the due Debt. To make any Thing of that which is not mine, it is Robbery. Forthwith upon the Delivery of the Loan Money it is not mine. And the Law is, that *Mutuum* muſt ever be free. And here he ſhewed the Difference between Location and *Mutuum*; the one implying a Contract, the other none. He remembred, out of *Ezechiel* and other the Prophets, ſundry Places of Scripture; and vouched St. *Auguſtine's* Saying, that to take but a Cup of Wine is Uſury and damnable. This he ſeemed to ſay in Anſwer to that which had been before pronounced, that it was not Uſury except it were *Morſus*.

'He ſhewed, that Loſs may grow by Uſury; Firſt, to the Queen, then to the Common-Wealth. To the Queen in this, that Men not uſing their own Money, but finding great Gain in Uſury, do imploy the ſame that Way; ſo that her Cuſtoms muſt decreaſe: To the Common-Wealth, for that, whoſo ſhall give Hire for Money, is to raiſe the ſame in the Sale of his Commodity. All Trades ſhall be taken away, all Occupations loſt; for moſt Men ſeeking moſt Eaſe, and greateſt Gain, without Hazard or Venture, will forthwith imploy their Money to ſuch Uſe. He ſhewed it to be ſo hateful in the Judgment of the Common Law, that an Uſurer was not admitted to be a Witneſs; nor after his Death to the common Sepulchre of Chriſtians. And for that his Diſcourſe had been long, he inſerted (as he ſaid) this Tale for Recreation of the Hearers. 'In

'In *Italy*, quoth he, a great known Usurer being dead, the Curate denied him the common Place of Burial; his Friends made Suit, the Priest would not hear; in fine, the Suitors bethought them of a Policy to bring it to pass, that he might be buried in the Church, which was this: The Parson of the Church did accustomably use to carry his Books daily from his House to the Church on his Ass; and the Ass, by often going, needed not to be driven, but, knowing his Journey, as soon as he was laden, would, of himself, go to the Church Door: They desired the Parson, his Ass might carry the dead Body; and where it should stay there it might be buried. To so fond a Request the Priest agreed; the Body was laid on the Ass, who, feeling a greater Burthen than he was used to bear, did run towards the Town, never staying until he came to the common Place of Execution. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'This Tale merrily told, he again entred to his Matter, and proved the Condemnation of Usury and Usurers, by the Authority of the *Nicene*, and divers other Councils: He shewed, that the Divines do call Usury a Spider, a Canker, an Aspis, a Serpent and a Devil. He shewed how, in Nature, the Offences of Homicide and Usury are to be compared; and by Examples proved the Ruins of divers Commonwealths, when such Practices for Gain are suffered, as that of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, *&c.* The Manner of Exchange now used in *London*, and how much Abuse he shewed; a Thing in old Time not practised, but by the King, as in *Edw.* 3d's Time, when thereby the King obtained such Treasure, and such excessive Wealth, that it was first wondred at, then guessed that it grew by the Science of Alchemy. He here shewed the Practice of the *Low-Countries*, of *Germany*, and namely the Doings of Fulchers to the very beggering of great and mighty Princes; he avouched the Authority of Sir *John Cheek* in that Place, concerning that Matter; and the Mind of the ancient *English* Law-Writers, who say that the Offence of Usury in Life the Bishop is to punish; but after his Death his Executors shall not have his Goods, but they

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they appertain *ad Fiscum*. He concluded, that the Offence, in his Conscience, should be judged Felony.'

'Mr. *Bell* said, This Matter being so ample had occasioned much Speech, and was for cunning Men a fit Theme to shew their Wits and Skills upon. Yet, saith he, it standeth doubtful what Usury is; we have no true Definition of it. And, in our Laws, we have little written thereon but this, *Usura non currat super Infantem:* And not much more but to answer the Objections, where it is pretended, that the not punishing of it by the Temporal Judge may seem to be an Approbation of it, or to leave it to the Church may seem as if we had no Care concerning it; for that to put over an Offence to another Judge, may not be so said, if to the Church it may appertain, and they may well correct it. He further shewed, that the Privilege of the Church is by Statute upon this Point to be expressed, namely in the Statute *de Articulis Cleri*. He said, We must not curiously search *Cicero's* Paradoxes, and pronounce that *Peccata sunt æqualia, hoc est, quod omne peccatum est peccatum*; and no further: But be every Man, according to his Transgressions, to make reasonable Pain; though he who stealeth two Pence, doth as well steal as he who stealeth an hundred Pounds; yet there are Degrees; we have *Petit Larceny*, and that which is greater; both Faults, both to be punished, both to be hated; but Difference there is in Punishing, even according to the Greatness and Smallness of the Offence; for the one there is Death, and for the other not so.

'In the Statute for punishing of Perjury, in the 5th of this Queen, there are sundry Degrees of Perjury: Not for that there is less Perjury in the one than in the other; but that there is greater Hurt occasioned in the one than in the other. In Answer of the Scripture, he said, the Law of God is, *If thou be stricken on the one Cheek, to turn the other*; or *if thy Cloak be taken away, to give also thy Gown*. The literal Sense is not to be taken, and, as there is Cause, a reasonable Construction must be. So he concluded, that though it were a Sin, yet it was to be punished

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niſhed here on Earth according to the good or bad, or rather according to the greater or leſſer Hurt which groweth thereby. Queen Elizabeth's 1571.

'After which one, whoſe Name is not expreſſed in the ſaid *anonymous Journal*, endeavour'd the Anſwer of Dr. *Wilſon*, but with a Proteſtation of his Inſufficiency; and then he ſhewed, how the Divines have not agreed what is Uſury, but for his own Part he was inclined to the Opinion of the Learned of theſe Days, whoſe Interpretation of literal Senſe and Skill of the Tongues do appear; which took that for no Uſury which is without Grievance. He made a Difference of the Law of God concerning the Divine Majeſty contained in the firſt Table, and what is concerning Man in the ſecond Table; ſaying, that nothing is to be ſaid in that Degree Sin in itſelf, but by the Circumſtances; for ſo it is known whether it be good or bad. To kill is prohibited, yet ſometimes not to kill is evil. *Phineas* killed, and was therefore commended. And Thefts, at Times, have been in Scriptures approved. So likewiſe Uſury is allowed of in the Scriptures; but that it might be uſed to Strangers only: Albeit the choſen Children of God amongſt themſelves might not uſe it. But let be, whether it be utterly unlawful, or in ſome Sort to be tolerated, it is a Queſtion; and until it be determined for the common Commodity and Maintenance, let it be as hitherto it hath been uſed. And for the common Sort of Bargains of Corn for Cloth, Silk for Land, *&c.* what they be, whether Uſury or no, we know not. That all ſhould be well, it is to be wiſhed; that all may be done well among Men, it is beyond Hope; for we are no Saints, we are not of Perfection to follow the Letter of the Goſpel, *Whoſo ſtriketh the one Cheek, &c.* and this Text, *Date, nihil inde ſperantes:* Theſe are no expreſs Commandments. For the firſt, the Law of Nature doth direct, and for the other alſo the ſame Law in Effect maketh Defence; ſurely there can be no Sin were there can be no Breach of Charity. To do that therefore to another which we would to ourſelves (the State, Circumſtance,

and

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and Caſe to ourſelves conſidered) is commendable or not to be reproved; if we ourſelves be to borrow, who is it that would not, in Extremity, give a little to ſave much Money? It is ſaid, The Uſurer doth or may grow rich: Who hath diſliked, in a Commonwealth, that there ſhould be *Homines boni frugi?* they may be conſidered, and may be good, more than for one Purpoſe. He further ſtood on this, That God did not abſolutely forbid Uſury, which ſurely if it had been utterly ill, he would have done. And he added, That the common Laws were cruel in their Cenſures, and wiſhed that they ſhould be no more remembred than they are followed.

Serjeant *Lovelace* argued to this Effect, That Uſury was of Money only, proteſting that he hated all Kind of Uſury, but yet the greater the Ill was, the more and more greatly did he hate the ſame. But to prohibit it with ſo ſharp and extreme a Law as to loſe all, he thought it would be the Ground of greater Covetouſneſs. Withal, he added, to prohibit the Ill of Covetouſneſs in Generality, were raſh, void, and frivolous; ſince that the Speech and the Act itſelf is indefinite, comprehending all our Actions and Doings; and therefore, as utterly vain to prohibit it, in vain Words of Generality. To prohibit Drunkenneſs, Pride, Envy, Surfeiting, *&c.* were ſomewhat in ſome particular Sort; to do it in Generality, albeit that we know that it is every Way damnable by the direct and written Word of God, it were but Folly. Of theſe great Evils, (to the which Man, of his Nature, is born and made prone, and too apt) when we may not reach to the beſt, furtheſt and uttermoſt, we muſt do, as we may ſay, by Degrees. As to ſay, there ſhall be no Deceit, or Slight in making of this or that Kind of Wares; that the Huſbandman ſhall till his arable Land, and that he ſhall not keep above ſuch a Number of Sheep; that there ſhall be no Foreſtalling, Regrating, *&c.* and this in Particularity; whereas otherwiſe, generally amongſt ſinful Men to prohibit this Sin or that Sin utterly on a Pain, it may not be: But thus rather, he that ſhall ſo ſin ſhall

shall suffer, or lose so much; whereupon he concluded, that there should be Degrees in punishing of Usury; as he that should take so much, to lose, or be punished thus; he that shall take more, more deeply. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Mr. *Fleetwood* shewed, that all these Arguments long since, with great Skill, and very often have been opened in this Place: He said, it was *Ingenui pudoris fateri per quem profeceris.* Mr. *Cheek*, he said, argued, and so far forth explained this Matter, as the Learner was thereby sufficiently informed, and the Learned fully satisfied. His Papers of his Speech, he said, he had not lost, and therefore could shew as much Cunning as the cunningest, which had bent or endeavoured himself thereunto. He said, he had read the Civil Law, and of the Common Law somewhat; but how well he did understand it, he would not promise ought: What Usury was, he said, he was not to learn; call it, if we list, *Proxima homicidio*, or how else by a Description he forced not much; for if there were not Civil Law, it were not much to be accounted of for any Certainty in this Case thereby to be had; and the most antient Laws of this Realm have taught us thereof somewhat; as the Laws of ..... do make to us mention of Usury. So do the Laws made in *Lucius's* Time, and those of *Athelred*; whereby it was ordained, that Witches and Usurers should be banished. King *Edward*, the Saint, referreth and appointeth the Offenders herein to suffer *Ordalium.* Then was there a great Kind of Usury known, which was called *Torus*, and a lesser known by the Name of ..... *Glanvile*, in the Book *de legibus antiquis*, maketh mention of an Inquiry of Christian Usurers. In the *Tower*, he said, he had seen a Commission awarded to the Master of the Courts (he named not what Courts) to enquire of Usurers, and the Punishment of them, he said, was whipping; he said further, by Scripture, he knew it was damnable; and therefore, whether it was good or not good, it was no good Question. For the Matter of Implication, whether by the Pretence of

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the Law it might be intended that it was in any Sort allowed; he ſaid, It might be conſtrued and compared there with the Statute of Tithes: Where it is ſaid, That till for ſeven Years after Heath-Ground broken up, no Tithe ſhall be paid; the Conſtruction hereupon is clear. He ſhewed alſo, that Uſury was *malum in ſe*, for that of ſome other Tranſgreſſions, her Majeſty may diſpenſe afore with; but for Uſury or to grant that Uſury may be uſed, ſhe poſſibly cannot. He further ſaid, That the Words of an Act of Parliament are not ever to be followed; for that ſometimes the Conſtruction is more contrary to what is written, as in the Statute of *Magna Charta*; *niſi prius homagium fecerit.* And ſome Statutes are winked at by Non-Obſervation or otherwiſe, ſo that they ſeem to be no Laws, even in thoſe Things which we practiſe moſt, as the Statute of *Gloceſter*, for the Oath to be taken in Debt and Damages.

'Mr. *Dalton* endeavoured to prove, that Mr. *Fleetwood* miſtook the Bill, but, in Fancy, he miſtook his Arguments.

'Mr. *Norton* ſhewed, that all Uſury is Biting; as in the Word *Steal* is contained all Kind of injurious taking away of a Man's Goods: And as Slanderizing is ſaid to be Murthering or Homicide; ſo is Uſury juſtly ever to be ſaid Biting, they being both ſo correlated or knit together, that the one may not be without the other. He concluded, That ſince it is doubtful what is good, we ſhould be mindful of the old Saying, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*, and for that *Quod non ex fide eſt peccatum eſt*, therefore he wiſhed that no Allowance ſhould be of it.'

After which Debate, the Bill was committed to Mr. Treaſurer and others, but their Names not mentioned.

Debate relating to the Liberties of the Houſe.

April the 20th there were ſome Arguments ſtarted concerning the Liberties of that Houſe, and about ſome Untruths which had been reported of it. On which Mr. Speaker declared, 'That the Queen had 'as good Liking of this Parliament, as ever ſhe had 'of any Parliament ſince her Majeſty's Reign.'

The

The ſame Day a Bill for Fugitives, or ſuch as were fled beyond Sea without Licence, was read a firſt Time, ſay the *Journals*, but *Dewes's* a Second; on which Mr. *Wentworth* ſtood up, and put the Houſe in Mind of a Speech made by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* ſome Days before: Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'He proved his Speech (without naming him) to be an Injury to the Houſe; he noted his Diſpoſition to flatter and fawn on the Prince, comparing him to the Camelion, which can change himſelf into all Colours, ſaving White; even ſo (ſaid he) this Reporter can change himſelf into all Faſhions but Honeſty: He ſhewed further the great Wrong done to one of the Houſe, by a Miſreport made to the Queen, meaning Mr. *Bell*; he ſhewed his Speech to tend to no other End than to inculcate Fear into thoſe which ſhould be free; he requeſted Care for the Credit of the Houſe, and for the Maintenance of free Speech (the only Means of ordinary Proceedings) and to preſerve the Liberties of the Houſe, to reprove Lyers, inveighing greatly out of the Scriptures and otherwiſe, againſt Lyers. As this of *David*, *Thou O Lord ſhalt deſtroy Lyers*, &c.

'Mr. Treaſurer ſignified his Deſire to have all Things well; ſaying, he could not enter into Judgment of any; but he ſaid, it was convenient ill Speeches ſhould be avoided, and the good Meaning of all Men to be taken, without Wreſting or Miſreporting; and the Meaning of all Men to be ſhewed in good Sort without unſeemly Words.

'Mr. Speaker endeavoured an Argument and Unity in the Houſe, making Signification that the Queen's Majeſty had in plain Words declared unto him, that ſhe had good Intelligence of the orderly Proceedings among us; whereof ſhe had as good Liking as ever ſhe had of any Parliament ſince ſhe came unto the Crown; and wiſhed we ſhould give her no other Cauſe than to continue the ſame, and added further her Majeſty's Pleaſure to be, to take Order for Licences; wherein ſhe had been careful, and more careful would be.

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'Mr. *Carleton*, with a very good Zeal, and orderly ſhew of Obedience, made Signification how that a Member of the Houſe was detained from them (meaning Mr. *Strickland*) by whoſe Commandment, or for what Cauſe he knew not. But for as much as he was not now a private Man, but to ſupply the Room, Perſon and Place of a Multitude ſpecially choſen, and therefore ſent, he thought that neither in regard of the Country, which was not to be wronged, nor for the Liberty of the Houſe, which was not to be infringed, we ſhould permit him to be detained from us. But, whatſoever the Intendment of this Offence might be, that he ſhould be ſent for to the Bar of that Houſe, there to be heard, and there to anſwer.

And on a Member being detained.

'Mr. Treaſurer in ſome Caſe gave Advertiſement to be wary in our Proceedings, and neither to venture further than our aſſured Warrant might ſtretch, nor to hazard our good Opinion with her Majeſty on any doubtful Cauſe. Withal he wiſhed us not to think worſe than there was Cauſe. For the Man (quoth he) that is meant, is neither detained nor miſuſed, but on Conſiderations is required to expect the Queen's Pleaſure, upon certain ſpecial Points: Wherein (he ſaid) he durſt to aſſure that the Man ſhould neither have cauſe to diſlike or complain, ſince ſo much Favour was meant unto him as he reaſonably could wiſh. He further ſaid, that he was in no Sort ſtayed for any Word or Speech by him in that Place offered; but for the exhibiting of a Bill into the Houſe againſt the Prerogative of the Queen; which was not to be tolerated. Nevertheleſs the Conſtruction of him was rather to have erred in his Zeal and Bill offered than maliciouſly to have meant any Thing contrary to the Dignity Royal. And laſtly, he concluded, That oft it had been ſeen, that Speeches have been examined and conſidered of.

'Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, with ſome Vehemency moved, that Care might be had for the Liberty of the Houſe; he was enforced, he ſaid, rather to

utter, and so to run into Danger of Offence of others, than to be offended with himself. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Mr. Comptroller replied to the Effect Mr. Treasurer had before spoken.

'Mr. *Cleere* told, how the Prerogative is not disputable, and that the Safety of the Queen is the Safety of the Subjects. He added, how that for Matter of Divinity, every Man was for his Instruction to repair to his Ordinary, being a private Man. (where he utterly forgot the Place he spake in, and the Person who was meant; for that Place required and permitted free Speech with Authority, and the Person was not himself a private Man but a publick; by whom even the Ordinary himself was to be directed.) He concluded, that for as much as the Cause was not known, he therefore would the House should stay.

'Mr. *Yelverton* said he was to be sent for, arguing in this Sort. First, he said, the Precedent was perilous, and though in this happy Time of Lenity, among so good and honourable Personages, under so gracious a Prince, nothing of Extremity or Injury was to be feared; yet the Times might be altered, and what now is permitted, hereafter might be construed as of Duty, and enforced even on this Ground of the present Permission. He further said, that all Matters not Treason, or too much to the Derogation of the Imperial Crown, were tolerable there; where all Things came to be considered of, and where there was such Fulness of Power, as even the Right of the Crown was to be determined, and by Warrant whereof we had so resolved. That to say the Parliament had no Power to determine of the Crown, was High-Treason. He remembered how that Men are not there for themselves, but for their Countries. He shewed, it was fit for Princes to have their Prerogatives; but yet the same to be straitned within reasonable Limits. The Prince, he shewed, could not of herself make Laws, neither might she by the same Reason break Laws. He further said, that the Speech uttered in that Place, and the Offer made of the Bill, was not to

Queen Elizabeth. 1573.

be condemned as Evil; for that if there were any Thing in the Book of Common-Prayer, either *Jewiſh*, *Turkiſh* or *Popiſh*, the ſame was to be reformed. He alſo ſaid, that amongſt the Papiſts it was bruted, that by the Judgment of the Council, *Strickland* was taken for an Heretick; it behoved therefore to think thereof.

'Mr. *Fleetwood* firſt ſhewed the Order of Civil Arguments from the Cauſe, to this Effect, that Time muſt be known and Place obſerved. He ſaid then that of Experince he could report of a Man that was called to Account of his Speech in 5 of this Queen; but he ſaid, he could not meddle with ſo late Matters, but what he had learned in the Parliament Rolls, he thought convenient ſhould be known and conſidered of. In the Time of *Henry* IV. a Biſhop of the Parliament was committed to Priſon by Commandment of the King; the Parliament reſolved to be Suitors for him. And in King *Henry* V. the Speaker himſelf was committed, and with him another of the Houſe; the Houſe thereupon ſtayed, but Remedy they had none, other than to be Suitors to the King for them; whereupon he reſolved, that the only and whole Help of the Houſe for Eaſe of their Grief in this Caſe, was to be humble Suitors to her Majeſty, and neither ſend for him, nor demand him of Right.

'During which Speech the Council whiſpered together, and thereupon the Speaker moved, that the Houſe ſhould make Stay of any further Conſultation thereupon.'

On the 21ſt Day of *April*, a *Proviſo* was offered to be made to the Bill for coming to Church and receiving the Communion. Which being read a ſecond Time, divers Arguments were uſed on it.

Debate on a Bill relating to the Communion.

'Mr. *Aglionby* argued, that there ſhould be no human poſitive Law to inforce Conſcience, which is not diſcernable in this World. To come to the Church, for that it is publick, and tendeth but to prove a Man a Chriſtian, is tolerable and convenient; and not to come to a Church may make a Man ſeem irreligious, and ſo no Man; for that by

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Religion only a Man is known and discerned from Brute Beasts; and this is to be judged by the Outward Shew. But the Conscience of Man is eternal, invisible, and not in the Power of the greatest Monarchy in the World, in any Limits to be straitned, in any Bounds to be contained, nor with any Policy of Man, if once decayed, to be again raised. He shewed, that neither *Jew* nor *Turk* do require more than the Submission to the outward Observance, and a convenient Silence, as not to dislike what is publickly professed; but to inforce any to do the Act, which may tend to the Discovery of his Conscience, it is never found. He shewed the Difference betwixt coming to Church, and receiving the Communion; the one he allowed to be incomprehensible in Law, the other he could not allow. And in Answer of that which before had been said, that the Conscience was not straitned, but a Penalty of the Loss of their Goods only adjudged; whereof, no doubt, the Law of God and the Law of Nations had given to the Prince an absolute Power; he said to this, out of *Cicero de Legibus*, that Man out of his own Nature is to care for the Safety of Man, as being reasonable Creatures, and not the one to seek to bereave the other of his necessary Livelyhood, adding out of the same Book, this Saying of *Tully*, *Qui Deum non curat hunc Deus ipse judicabit.* He shewed out of St *Paul*, that we must not do Ill that Good may grow thereby; we must not take from him that is his, to the End thereby to make him to do what is not in his Power; to be fit for so great a Mystery God above of his free Gift may make a Man.

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'To come unworthily the Penalty is appointed, St. *Paul* hath pronounced it to be Death and Damnation, as guilty of the Blood and Death of Christ. Not to come our Compulsory Law shall now condemn, so that this our Favour herein to be extended, is either to beg, or be exiled from our native Country. He said, There was no Example in the Primitive Church to prove a Commandment for coming to the Communion, but an Exhortation;

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. he said, St. *Ambrose* did excommunicate *Theodosius*, and forbid him to come to the Communion, because he was an evil Man. And for us to will and command Men to come, because they are wicked Men, it is too strange an Inforcement, and without Precedent.

'Mr. *Agmondesham*, without Regard of any thing spoken before, made mention of a Decree in the Star-Chamber, made by nine of the Privy Council, signed with their Hands, and the Hands of the Chief Justices, concerning the receiving of the Communion by Gentlemen of the *Temple*. This Decree, made by so grave and learned Men, he thought for himself, and to his own Conscience, was a Stay what to judge, and a Direction or Precedent what to follow: The Tenor of which Decree, for so much as it did concern the Reformation of the Houses of Courts, and principal Places to be thought and considered of, he wished might be inserted into the Law. The Motion was well liked, and he required to bring the same the next Day, which was done.

'Mr. *Norton* shewed, that where many Men be, there must be many Minds, and in Consultations convenient it is, to have contrary Opinions, contrary Reasons and Contradictions; thereby the rather to wrest out the best: But this by the Rule of Reasoning, and Reason must be *sine Furgiis*: He then said, that not only the external and outward Shew is to be sought, but the very Secrets of the Heart in God's Cause, who is *Scrutator Cordium*, must come to a Reckoning. And the good Seed so sifted from the Cockle, that the one may be known from the other. A Man baptized is not to be permitted among us for a *Jew*. And here somewhat slipping from the Matter in Speech, he moved, that all suspected for *Papistry* might make this Oath, That they did acknowledge the Queen to be Queen, for any thing the Pope, in any respect, might do, noting some Imperfection in the former Oath. To this End, quoth he, are the Bulls now sent to discharge Men of their Allegiance, and to give free Pardon of Sins; so that he,

he, who thus ſhould be pardoned, ſhould from henceforth in no ſort communicate with the Profeſſors of the Goſpel; and now, quoth he, the very Touchſtone of Trial, who be thoſe Rebellious Calves, whom the Bull hath begotten, muſt be the Receiving of the Communion; which whoſo ſhall refuſe, we may juſtly ſay, He ſavoureth, *&c.* And Men are not otherwiſe to be known but by the external Sign. To anſwer and ſatisfy the *Dilemma* objected before in the firſt Day, made concerning the Diſorders of certain Miniſters, in ſaying of the Service contrary to the Inſtruction of the Book; he wiſhed, this Proviſo might be added, that miſtaking of Chapters, miſ-reading, *&c.* ſhould be recovered as no Offence, ſo that there be no Maſs-Song, or Popiſh Service uſed in *Latin*, *&c.* And thus the Bill reſted to be further conſidered of.' Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

This is the Sum of all the Debates which the *Journaliſt* hath given us in this Seſſion of Parliament. But, it is to be obſerved, that thoſe Debates, eſpecially on Church Affairs, were managed with Caution, for the Queen always ſhewed a Diſlike that the Houſe of Commons ſhould meddle in Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Nor were they without ſome Checks from Court, on the Freedom of Speech in other Things, where it bore too hard on the Prerogative. Mr. *Strickland*, we are told, in one of his Speeches, earneſtly preſſing the Reformation of the Book of Common-Prayer, was, the next Day, called before the Queen's Council, and commanded by them to forbear going to the Houſe till their Pleaſure was further known. This occaſioned great Clamour within Doors; and divers Speeches and Motions were made, relating to Breach of Privilege, by Reſtraint of one of their Members from attending; altho' he was neither impriſoned nor confined. But, the Speaker got up, and deſired the Houſe to forbear any further Debate on that Matter; and, the next Day, Mr. *Strickland* came again to the Houſe by the Councils Allowance, to the no ſmall Joy of his Brethren. On another Day, alſo, this Seſſion, the Speaker

The Queen checks the Members for debating on Points of Prerogative, &c.

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

er informed the Houſe, that he had received a Command from her Majeſty to caution the Members to ſpend leſs Time in Motions, and to avoid long Speeches. The *Journaliſt* tells us, that this Meſſage was occaſioned by one Mr. *Bell*, ſpeaking againſt Monopolies or granting of Licences, which, he thought, was contrary to certain Statutes, and, as was ſaid, ſeemed to ſpeak againſt the Prerogative. Tho', adds the *Journaliſt*, what he did ſay was ſo much to Order, that thoſe who were touched might be angry, but they could not blame him for it.

Proceedings in a Cauſe of Bribery.

The next Thing we think proper to mention, in the Proceedings of the Commons, this Seſſion, is a Caſe of *Bribery*. It ſeems that one *Thomas Long*, Gent. was returned for the Borough of *Weſtbury*, in the County of *Wilts*, for this preſent Parliament, who being found out to be a very ſimple Man, and not fit to ſerve in that Place, was queſtioned how he came to be elected. The poor Man immediately confeſſed to the Houſe, that he gave to *Anthony Garland*, Mayor of the ſaid Town of *Weſtbury*, and one *Watts*, of the ſame, *four Pounds*, for his Place in Parliament. Upon which, an Order was made that the ſaid *Garland* and *Watts* ſhould repay unto the ſaid *Thomas Long* the *four Pounds* they had of him. Alſo, that a Fine of twenty Pounds be aſſeſſed, for the Queen's Uſe, on the ſaid Corporation and Inhabitants of *Weſtbury*, for their ſcandalous Attempt. That the ſaid *Thomas Long* ſhould be diſcharged from all bonds, given to the ſaid Corporation, for executing his Place in Parliament. And, laſtly, that the Mayor and *Watts* ſhould be ſent for by a Purſuivant, to anſwer ſuch Things as ſhould be objected againſt them by the Houſe.

But we hear no more of this Matter; probably the Straitneſs of the Time prevented it, being very near the End of this Seſſion. It muſt be allowed that a Seat in Parliament was held very cheap in thoſe Days. For, tho' the Value of Money, then, was much greater than it is now, yet *four Pounds* can never bear a Proportion to the monſtrous Sums that have

have been expended, or given, for a Seat in Parliament in much later Times. Queen Elizabeth, 1571.

May the 28th, Upon Speeches uttered in the Houſe, 'That ſome of the Members of it *had* 'taken Money for their Voices, a Committee was 'appointed of all the Privy Council of that Houſe, 'with others, to meet that Afternoon, in the Star-'Chamber, to examine what Perſons, being Mem-'bers of that Houſe, had taken any Fees or Rewards 'for their Voices, in the Furtherance or Hinderance 'of any Bills offered in the Houſe. Who, the 'next Day, reported, That they could not learn of 'any Member that had ſold his Voice in the Houſe, 'or any way dealt unlawfully, or indirectly, in that 'Behalf. Thereupon, Mr *Norton* declaring, That 'he heard ſome had him in Suſpicion that Way, 'juſtified himſelf; and was, upon the Queſtion, 'cleared, and his honeſt and juſt Dealing, and great 'Pains-taking declared and affirmed by the Votes of 'the whole Houſe.' If this Purgation, or Scrutiny, was truly made, it is a remarkable Inſtance of the Integrity and Incorruption of Parliaments in thoſe Days.

But, we find that this Queen had ſmall Occaſion to bribe her Parliaments; they were ready enough to give her every Thing ſhe wanted, even without asking. And, when, at any Time, they touched upon her Prerogative, either in Religious or Civil Matters, a haughty Meſſage or two brought them, tamely, to ſubmit and, calmly, bear the Burden: One inſtance more, amongſt many in this Reign, is now before us. For, when this Parliament was ſtickling about a farther Reformation in Church-Affairs, and had framed Articles for that Purpoſe; ſhe ſent the Commons Word, 'That ſhe liked 'their Articles well enough, but would have them 'publiſhed by the Biſhops, under the Direction of 'her own Royal and Supreme Authority; poſitive-'ly inhibiting them from dealing in ſuch Mat-'ters (*a*).'

In

(*a*) See *D'Ewes's Journal*, p. 180, for a much farther Account of this affair than is to be met with in the Journals of the Commons.

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

In the printed Statutes are only the Titles of twenty-eight Acts paſſed this Seſſion, in the Catalogue of the Lords *Journals* are forty-one; but, in the Supernumerary are none of any Moment, except what have been mentioned. On the 29th of *May*, a Bill for a general Pardon was read thrice, in the Houſe of Lords, and concluded. And in the Afternoon of the ſame Day the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, and being ſeated on the Throne, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons came up with the Bills, and made a Speech on the Occaſion. The Particulars of which are not given, but the *Journaliſt* hath preſerved the Lord Keeper, Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Anſwer to it, which is as follows:

The Lord Keeper's Speech at the Cloſe of the Seſſion.

Mr. Speaker,

'THE Queen's Majeſty hath heard, and doth very well underſtand, how diſcreetly and 'wiſely you have declared the Proceedings of this 'Seſſion in the Nether Houſe; for Anſwer where-'of, and for the better Signification of what her 'Majeſty's Opinion is, both of Parliament Men 'and Parliament Matters, this is to let you under-'ſtand, her Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay 'unto you, that like as the greateſt Number of 'them of the Lower Houſe, have in the Proceed-'ings of this Seſſion ſhew'd themſelves modeſt, diſ-'creet, and dutiful, as becomes good and loving 'Subjects, and meet for the Places that they be 'called unto: So there be certain of them, altho' 'not many in Number, who in the Proceeding of 'this Seſſion, have ſhew'd themſelves audacious, 'arrogant, and preſumptuous, calling her Maje-'ſty's Grants and Prerogatives alſo in queſtion, 'contrary to their Duty and Place that they be 'called unto; and contrary to the expreſs Admo-'nition given, in her Majeſty's Name, in the Be-'ginning of this Parliament; which it might very 'well have become them to have had more Regard 'unto. But her Majeſty ſaith, that ſeeing they 'will thus wilfully forget themſelves, they are o-'therwiſe to be remembred; and like as her Ma-

jeſty

'jesty allows and much commends the former Sort, Queen Elizabeth.
'for the Respects aforesaid; so doth her Highness 1571.
'utterly disallow, and condemn the second Sort,
'for their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous
'Folly, thus by superfluous Speech spending much
'Time in meddling with Matters neither pertain-
'ing to them, nor within the Capacity of their Un-
'derstanding.

'And thus much concerning the Parliament of
'the Lower House.

'And as to the Lords here of the Upper House,
'her Majesty hath commanded me to let you
'know, that her Highness taketh their Diligence,
'Discretion, and orderly Proceedings, to be such,
'as redoundeth much to their Honour and Com-
'mendations, and much to her Comfort and Con-
'solation. And here an End touching Parliament
'Men.

'Now as to Parliament Matters, her Majesty
'hath commanded me to open and declare unto
'you, her Opinion conceived therein, touching
'two Things; the one is concerning the Subsidy
'and Benevolence, the other is concerning the
'Execution of the Laws. As to the former,
'which concerneth the Subsidy and Benevolence,
'her Pleasure is that I shall say unto you, that in
'your Dealings in that Matter she hath noted three
'Things principally, every of them tending much
'to the setting forth of your Benevolences and
'good Wills; the first is, who it was that granted,
'the second, is the Manner of the grant-
'ing, the third what it was that was granted. As
'to the first, her Majesty forgetteth not, that it is
'a Grant made proceeding from the earnest Af-
'fections, and hearty good Wills, of her good,
'dutiful, and obedient Subjects, for the greatest
'Part: And therefore hath commanded me to say
'unto you, that she maketh a greater Accompt of
'the great good Wills and benevolent Minds of her
'good and loving Subjects, than she doth of ten
'Subsidies; which, as it ought to bring and breed
'in us great Comfort and Delight, so in reason it

'ought

Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'ought to move us (as I doubt not but it doth) to 'be and continue such as be worthy such an Estima-'tion and Account. Again, her Majesty forgetteth 'not, that besides this is not a Grant by good and 'loving Subjects, that never made like Grant here-'tofore, but by such as have contributed from 'Time to Time, as the necessary Charges of the 'Realm, and their own Sureties have required; 'which doth much commend and set forth this 'Benevolence of yours. And thus much concern-'ing the Persons that have granted.

'And as to the second, which is the Manner of 'granting, her Highness knoweth very well, that 'before her Time these Manner of Grants have 'sundry Times past, not without Difficulties, with 'long Persuasions, and sometimes not without 'sharp Speeches, but this contrariwise without any 'such Speeches or other Difficulty, hath been free-'ly and frankly offered and presented; and like as 'the former did much extenuate their Benevolence, 'so is this of yours greatly extended. It is written 'and very truly, concerning Benevolences, *Qui 'diu distulit diu noluit*, and therefore justly con-'cluded, *Bis dat qui cito dat*; which Sayings she 'cannot but apply to you, in the Proceedings of 'your Grant.

'Again, Universality in Consent doth greatly 'commend also your Dealings in this Matter; for 'a more universal Consent than was in this, will 'hardly be had in any; and therefore much the 'more commendable. And thus much touching 'the Manner of the Gift.

'And to the third, which concerneth the Thing 'given, her Majesty saith, that she thinketh it to 'be as great as any heretofore hath been granted, 'and therefore you are to receive condign Thanks 'for it. And hath further willed me to say, that 'if the Service of the Realm and your Sureties 'would so permit and suffer, her Majesty would as 'gladly, as readily, and as frankly remit this 'Grant, as you have freely and liberally granted it. 'Thus I have remembred unto you the three

'princely

princely Observations, that her Majesty hath conceived of this Benevolence of yours, much to your Comfort, and greatly to her Majesty's Honour; to your Commendation for granting, and to her Highness for this honourable accepting; for her Majesty shall by this Grant receive no Commodity or Benefit, but rather a continual Care in dispending and employing of it, about the necessary Affairs and Service of the Realm, and your Sureties; and yet it is a great Comfort to her Majesty, to see you thus frankly and freely join with herself, the Realm, and you. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Now to the second and last Part, which concerneth the Execution of the Laws, which I mean to divide into two Parts; the first is the Execution of your Grant, the second is the Execution of Laws, now made by you, and of the rest made before of others. As to the former, I am to remember you, that like as it hath pleased the Queen's Majesty thus princely, honourably, and thankfully, to think of and accept this free and liberal Grant of yours; so certainly, if the like Diligence and Endeavour be not used, by such of you as Choice shall be made of by her Majesty, for the due putting in Execution of this Grant, then surely those that shall be thus remiss, or negligent, as by that Means her Majesty and the Realm shall be defrauded of any Part of that which hath been thus freely granted, shall thereby minister just occasion to her Highness to have their Fidelity and Truth towards her Majesty, much to be suspected and charged; which would touch them very near. Neither is it an Offence that would be pretermitted, but severely punished. Why, if the Case were between common Persons, can there be a greater Untruth and Unthankfulness, than for a Man to make a Grant in Appearance willingly and readily, and then to seek wilily and craftily to defraud the same Grant? This amongst honest Persons is utterly detested, and if so, how then might it be thought of between the Prince and his Subjects, where for di-

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Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'vers Respects this Bond is thrice as great; for as 'the Subject, by the Duty of his Allegiance, is to 'serve the Prince truly, even so is he by his Oath, 'and so is he by the great Trust, that by the Princes 'Choice is committed unto him, as a Commissi- 'oner in this Matter, above others. Plainly to 'speak, it may be affirmed, and that justly, that 'such as be in Commission for the Execution of 'this Grant, and shall deal partially, either for Fa- 'vour or for Fear, or for Love to themselves or 'their Friends, or negligently or remisly, of Pur- 'pose whereby her Majesty shall not be answered 'of what is due unto her; such, I say, may 'justly be charged as Men forgetting their Duty 'towards God, and their Sovereign, and to their 'Country. It cannot be denied, that Numbers 'respect only their private Profit, and not the uni- 'versal Profit of the Realm, which is their Surety 'and Defence; they respect themselves as private 'Persons, and not as Members of the Universal 'Body; but their Imperfection would be supplied 'by the Wisdom and Persuasion of such, as the 'Queen's Majesty shall commit Trust unto by her 'Commission, to see this Subsidy well and truly 'levied.

'And thus much for the Execution of the 'Grant. Now to the Execution of Laws, made 'by you, and the rest made heretofore by others. I 'am to remember you, that all these Labours, Tra- 'vels, and Pains, taken about the Laws now 'made, and before time taken about the rest here- 'tofore made, and all the Charge sustained by the 'Realm about the making of them, is all in vain, 'and Labour lost, without the due Execution of 'them. For, as it hath been said, a Law without 'Execution is but a Body without Life, a Cause 'without an Effect, a Countenance of a Thing, 'and indeed nothing; Pen, Ink, and Paper, are 'as much towards the Governance of the Com- 'monwealth, as the Rudder or Helm of a Ship 'serveth to the Governance of it without a Gover- 'nor, and as Rods serve for Correction without

'Hands,

Hands. Were it not meer Madneſs for a Man to provide fair Torches to guide his going by Night, and when he ſhould uſe them in the Dark to carry them unlight? Or for one to provide fair and handſome Tools to prune or reform his Orchard or Garden, and to lay them up without Uſe? And what Thing elſe is it to make wholſome and provident Laws in fair Books, and to lay them up ſafe, without ſeeing them executed? Surely in Reaſon there is no Difference between the Examples, ſaving that the making of Laws, without Execution, is in much worſe Caſe, than thoſe vain Proviſions before remembred; for thoſe, albeit they do no Good, yet they do no Hurt; but the making of Laws without Execution, does very much Harm; for that breeds and brings forth Contempt of Laws; and Law-makers, and of all Magiſtrates; which is the very Foundation of all Miſgovernance, and therefore muſt needs be great and heinous in thoſe that are the Cauſers of this; indeed they are the very Occaſions of all Injuries and Injuſtice, and of all Diſorders and Unquietneſs in the Commonwealth. For certain and evident it is, that the Queen's Majeſty, that is Head of the Law, doth all meet for her Majeſty to do, for the due Execution of them. Firſt, ſhe giveth her Royal Aſſent to the making of them; the moſt material of them ſhe commandeth to be proclaimed and publiſhed; and yet ceaſeth not there, but ſhe granteth out her Commiſſion into every of her Shires, to Men which are or ſhould be of greateſt Conſideration within the Limits of their Charge, which for the better executing of them are ſworn to ſee the Execution of her Laws to them committed, within the Limits of their Commiſſions; and yet beſides all this, by her Majeſty's Commandment, a Number of theſe Juſtices are yearly once at the leaſt call'd into her Highneſſes Star-Chamber, and there in her Majeſty's Name, exhorted, admoniſhed, and commanded, to ſee the due Execution of their Charges. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

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'And thus you see her Majesty enacteth, proclaimeth, committeth, exhorteth, admonisheth, and commandeth from Time to Time; yea, what can be devised meet for her Majesty to do, for Help of this, that is left undone? Surely nothing, to her Majesty's Honour and Renown. Whereupon it followeth, necessarily and consequently, that the whole Burthen of the Offence and Enormity must light upon us, that are put in Trust by her Majesty, to see those Laws executed; and certainly this Offence groweth great or little, as the Trust committed for the Execution of Laws, is great or little; and therefore it standeth us greatly upon, to use our whole Cares and Endeavours, for the Help of this hereafter. Were it possible, trow you, that if Justices being dispers'd through the whole Realm, as they be, did carefully and diligently endeavour themselves, according to the Trust committed unto them, by their Sovereign, duly and truly to execute their Charge, as they be bound by their Oath to God, and by their Allegiance to their Sovereign, and by Duty to their natural Country, and rightly consider'd, by the Love they should bear to themselves and their Posterity, (for if their Country do not well, they shall fare but illsavouredly) were it possible, I say, if this were so done, that Laws should be thus remisly and negligently executed? No, doubtless. Is it not, trow you, a monstrous disguising, to have a Justice a Maintainer; to have him that should by his Oath and Duty set forth Justice and Right, against his Oath offer Injury and Wrong; to have him that is specially chosen amongst a Number by a Prince to appease all Brawlings and Controversies, to be a Sower and Maintainer of Strife and Sedition, by swaying and leading of Juries according to his Will; acquitting some for Gain, indicting others for Malice, bearing with them as his Servant or Friend, overthrowing others as his Enemy; procuring the Questmonger to be of his Livery, or otherwise in his Danger; that his Winks, Frownings, and

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Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

'Countenances may direct all Inquests? Surely, 'surely, these be they that be Subverters of all 'good Laws and Orders; yea, that make daily the 'Laws, which of their Nature be good, to become 'Instruments of all Injuries and Mischiefs; these 'be they indeed of whom such Examples would be 'made, as of the Founders and Maintainers of all 'Enormities; and these be those, whom, if you 'cannot reform for their Greatness, you ought to 'complain of them; and like as this is not said of 'those that be good, so is this and much more to 'be said and done against those that be evil.

'But here it may be said, the Mischief appears; 'what is the Remedy? To make all Laws pre-'sently executed: I can hardly hope to make them 'in better Case than now they be, and although I 'had such Hopes, I could find no more Helps but 'these.

'The first is, having great Care in the Choice 'of the Officers: The second, by sharp Correcti-'ons imposed upon such Offenders. There should 'be throughout the Realm a Triennial or Biennial 'Visitation in this Nature, made of all Temporal 'Officers and Ministers, that by virtue of their 'Office have in Charge to see Execution of Laws. 'By this I mean, that the Queen's Majesty should 'make Choice every second or third Year, of cer-'tain expert and approved Persons, to whom Com-'mission should be granted, to try out and exa-'mine, by all good Means and Ways, the Offen-'ces of all such as have not seen to the due Execu-'tion of the Laws, and according to the Offences 'so found and certified, to be sharply punished 'without Omission or Redemption.

'Of Effect like unto this, and to the like End, 'was the Visitation of the Church first devised, 'whereof came in the Beginning great Good doubt-'less; and Reason I see none, but that like Good 'ought to follow upon a like Visitation made a-'mongst Temporal Officers. Now to find out 'the Faults seemeth not hard, for amongst many 'other Ways, there is one plain, evident and easy;

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'and that is where Offences do abound in any 'Country, contrary to the Laws, which the Juſ-'tices ſhould ſo reform, and there be nothing done 'by them for the Reformation of thoſe Offences; 'I do not ſee but this makes a full Charge of their 'Unacarefulneſs and Negligence, whereby they are 'well worthy, upon Certificate made, as is afore-'ſaid, to be removed of all Governance, to their 'perpetual Ignominy, and to the Commendation 'of all thoſe that remain as good Officers.

'And beſides, to ſet forth other Pains upon 'them, as by Law may be juſtified; if this were 'once or twice done, I doubt not but the Examples 'following of the doing of it would cauſe greater 'Diligence to be uſed in the Execution of Laws, 'than now there is. And the better to underſtand 'which be thoſe Juſtices that do offend, why 'might there not be Order taken, that the Name 'of every Juſtice that hath not proſecuted any Of-'fender for any Offence committed contrary to 'any Law, which by the Commiſſion that he is in, 'he is authoriſed to ſee puniſhed, might be entred 'into ſome Rolls; and alſo how often, and how 'many of thoſe Kind of Offences he hath alſo pro-'ſecuted for a Declaration of his Diligence, where-'by it might appear when ſuch Viſitation ſhould 'come, who hath been careful, and who hath been 'negligent, to the End that the ſlothful, drowſy 'Drones, might be ſevered from the diligent and 'careful Bees. And like as I could wiſh this to be 'done concerning Officers of mean Degree, ſo do I 'deſire that the ſame Courſe might be taken with 'the great and greateſt, for ſo it ſhould be equable. 'But if there be nothing done therein, but Things 'left as they have been, then muſt you look to have 'your Laws executed as they have been, if not 'worſe; for Words will not reform theſe Matters, 'as I have ſeen by Proof. And this is the Sum of 'what I have to ſay at this Time, concerning the 'Execution of Laws.'

This

This Speech being ended, and the Royal Assent given to the Bills, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, dissolved the Parliament. Queen Elizabeth. 1571.

Matters began now to be very critical with the Queen of *Scots*, who had been a Prisoner in *England* ever since she fled here for Protection from her rebellious Subjects; who had now actually deposed her, and set her young Son *James* on the Throne. Being weary of Restraint, the unhappy Queen had used many Endeavours to escape, which were then called Conspiracies against the *English* Government. In one of which she had drawn in the Duke of *Norfolk* to assist her; and, by a formal Contract of Marriage between them, the Duke fell into a Snare which effectually ruin'd him. He was arraigned for this and some more Crimes laid to his Charge, was tried by his Peers, and unanimously found guilty of High Treason. But whilst this noble Duke lay under Sentence of Death, another Conspiracy was formed to release him; which being found out, and the Actors in it executed, it was thought necessary to call a new Parliament, the very next Year after the Dissolution of the last, to frame such Laws as might establish the Queen and the present Government, on the most lasting Foundation. Proceedings relating to Mary Queen of Scots. A new Parliament call'd.

It hath been hinted, more than once, in these Enquiries, that the Jealousy the Queen was under, as well as all the *English Protestants* of those Days, about the Queen of *Scots*, was the Occasion of her Imprisonment; which ended not but with the Loss of her own Life and many of her Friends. A Parliament was summoned by Writs, dated at *Greenwich*, to meet at *Westminster*, *May* 8th, in the fourteenth Year of this Reign. Anno Regni 1572. At Westm.

The Queen had also summoned four new Barons to this Parliament, the Writs for calling them being enter'd in the Lords *Journals*; and, on the 1st Day of the Meeting, they were introduced accordingly. Their Names were *John* Lord *Pawlet*, of *Basing*, Son to the Marquis of *Winchester*; *Henry* Lord *Compton*; *Henry* Lord *Cheney*, and *Henry* Lord

Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

Lord *Norris*. There is nothing elſe entred in the *Journals* of either Houſe, to be done on this Day; but Sir *Simond Dewes* hath ſupplied this Defect from a MS. of his own, which gives us the Lord Keeper's Speech at the Opening of the Parliament in theſe Words:

The Lord Keeper's Speech at opening the Parliament.

'THE Queen's Majeſty, our moſt dread and gracious Sovereign Lady, hath given me Commandment to declare unto you the Cauſes of the Summons of this Aſſembly for a Parliament to be holden here at this Time; wherein albeit I mean to employ my whole Endeavour to the uttermoſt of my Power and Underſtanding; yet I muſt needs confeſs, that neither ſhall you have it done as the Majeſty of this Preſence, neither as the Gravity of the Cauſe requireth it to be done. And yet the often Experience that I have, divers and ſundry Times, had of the Queen's Majeſty's great Benignity and Gentleneſs, in bearing with and well accepting the Doings of thoſe that to her Service put their good Wills and Diligences; and, beſides all, the Proof of your Patience in the like Matter hath ſo much encouraged me, that (as I truſt) it ſhall be done although not cunningly nor eloquently, yet plainly and truly, ſo as it may be well underſtood and eaſily born away, and therewith alſo as briefly as the Greatneſs of ſuch a Matter will ſuffer. True it is, the original and principal Cauſe is, that Things there propounded may be orderly and diligently debated, deeply conſidered, and thereupon wiſely concluded. And to the End, alſo, that thoſe Concluſions ſo made, the rather for ſuch an univerſal Conſent as in Parliament is uſed, remain firm and ſtable.

'Now the Matters that are in this Parliament to be proved, do conſiſt altogether of two Parts. The former is in Matters of Religion, for the better Maintenance of God's Honour and Glory. The ſecond in Matters of Policy, for the more perfect upholding and eſtabliſhing of the Queen's

'Majeſty's

'Majesty's Royal Estate, and the Preservation of the Common-Weal committed to her Charge. 'The Causes of Religion are again to be divided 'into two, that is, into Matter concerning the 'good Government of the Subjects at Home, 'and into Causes of Defence against the Enemy 'Abroad. Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'And thus by this Process you see you are, as 'indeed you ought,

'First, To consider, in this your Assembly, of 'God's Cause, which faithfully, sincerely and dili-'gently done, like as it cannot but bring Success to 'all the rest, so likewise lukewarm, deceitful and 'double-dealing therein cannot but breed, nourish 'and bring forth Factions, Divisions, Seditions, &c. 'to the great Peril and Danger of all the rest. 'And the greater that the Personages be in Autho-'rity and Dignity that thus deal, the greater of 'Necessity must be the Danger of the Common-'Weal. And because God's Law and Doctrine, 'being the first Law and Branch, must light upon 'ourselves that ought to take the Benefit of it, as 'first and chiefly upon Ministers of this Doctrine 'either for not preaching and teaching by Word 'and Example of Life so purely and reverently as 'they might, or else not so diligently as they were 'bound. And

'Secondly, Upon us for not hearing it so desir-'ously, or else hearing it and forgetting it, or not 'following it so effectually as we should.

'Thirdly, For that many of us of the Laity do 'not yield and give that Estimation, Countenance 'and Credit to the Ministers of his Doctrine which 'of Right they ought to have, and that many 'greatly hurt the setting forth of it: For this one 'Thing may be holden firm by the Rules of good 'Government; that all Officers both Spiritual and 'Temporal that have Governance, during the 'Time of their Offices, ought to be preserved in 'Credit and Estimation. For how can any Thing 'be well set forth by them that want Credit? Mar-

Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'ry, for my Part, let the Time of their Offices 'last as their Doings do deserve.

'Fourthly, Because the Want of the Number of 'Ministers that ought to be and be not, and for the 'Insufficiency of those that be for divers Respects. 'But therein the Queen's Highness doubteth no- 'thing, but all that which the Difficulty of Time, 'in so great a Scarcity of Men meet to be Mini- 'sters, will suffer to be done, shall by my Lords 'the Bishops be done in this Behalf, and that as 'speedily, diligently and carefully as can be. And 'if any Person admitted, or to be admitted to this 'Ministry, shall hereafter, either of Arrogancy or 'Ignorance, shew any strange Doctrine, contrary 'or varying from that which by common Consent 'of the Realm is published, to the Breach of Uni- 'ty, that he by those to whom it appertaineth, 'sharply and speedily be reformed, all Favour and 'Fear set apart.

'Thus much for Doctrine. You are most ear- 'nestly also to think and consider of the Discipline 'of the Church, as one of the strong Pillars of Reli- 'gion, which doubtless at this Time hath two 'great Lacks. The first the Imperfection of Laws 'for the Countenance of it, which hath grown ei- 'ther by reason that sundry of the Ordinances made 'for that Purpose, be disused or otherwise have 'not their Force; or else for that most of the Laws 'that remain be such as for their Softness few Men 'make Account of.

'The second Imperfection is the Slothfulness, 'Corruption and Fearfulness of the Ecclesiastical 'Ministers and Officers in the due Execution of 'those Laws that be good and yet continue. True 'and too true it is, that hereby at this present two 'great Enormities daily grow: The former that 'Men of Wealth and Power, given to be evil, may 'in their Countries live in what dissolute and licen- 'tious Life they list; and both Temporalty and Spi- 'ritualty offend daily in all the Branches of Simony, 'the very Canker of the Church, without feeling 'of this Discipline.

'The

'The second, That many of the laudable Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, or pertaining to the Ministers of the same agreed upon by common Consent, the very Ornaments of our Religion, are very ill kept or at least have lost a great Part of their Estimation. And here (through the many Faults for Want of Discipline) to remember you of one particular Matter of great Moment. How cometh it to pass that the common People in the Country universally come so seldom to Common-Prayer and Divine Service; and when they do come, be many Times so vainly occupied there, or at least do not there as they should do, but for Want of this Discipline? Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'And yet to the Help of this there was at the last Parliament a Law made, but hitherto no Man, no, no Man, or very few, hath seen it executed; as plainly to speak, Laws for the Furtherance of this Discipline unexecuted, be Rods for Correction without Hands. It cannot be denied but as Superstition is every Way to be abhorred for Fear of Idolatry; so certainly the Loss of this Discipline is always to be avoided, lest else Contempt (that necessarily must follow) may cause Irreligion to creep faster in than a Man would think. For of all other it is the most pestilent and pernicious Thing, never suffered nor allowed in any Common-Weal, nay not amongst the Heathens that were most barbarous. But here it may be said the Mischief appeareth, where is the Remedy? and that it were better not opened in such a Presence, than opened without the Remedy both devised and declared.

'In mine Opinion the Remedies may easily be devised: All the Difficulty is in the well executing of them. As first, if the chief Parsonages of this Realm, both in Town and Country, would give good Example, it cannot be but it would be much to the remedying of a great Part of this Mischief.

'Secondly, The dividing every one of the Dioceses according to their Greatness into Deanaries,

'as

Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'as I know commonly they be; and the committing of the Deanaries to Men well chosen, as I think commonly they be not: And then the keeping of certain ordinary Courts at their prescript Times for the well executing of those Laws of Discipline as they ought to be, with a sure Controulment of those inferior Ministers by the Bishop or his Chancellor, not biennially or triennially, but every Year twice or thrice: Which Use of Necessity without very great Difficulty may do much in very short Time to the Reformation of this; the chief Officers Ecclesiastical all being very well, and the Laws themselves being first made sufficient and perfect, which in this Parliament may very well be brought to pass.

'And, because the Proceedings of Matters in Discipline and Doctrine, do chiefly concern my Lords the Bishops, both for their Understanding and Ecclesiastical Function; therefore the Queen's Highness looketh that they, being called together here in Parliament, should take the chiefest Care to consider and consult of these Matters. And if in their Conference they found it behoofull to have any Temporal Acts made, for the amending and reforming of any of these Lacks, that then they will exhibit it here in Parliament to be considered upon, and so *Gladius Gladium juvabit*, as before-time hath been used; foreseeing always that all Laws and Ordinances for this Matter of Doctrine and Discipline be uniform, and so one Sort throughout the whole Realm. And thus much concerning Religion, being the first Part.

'Now to the Second, that is, Matters of Policy. And herein first for the Government of the Subjects at Home; the Lacks and Defaults whereof, as in Discipline so in this, stand altogether in the Imperfection of Laws, or else the Fearfulness, Slothfulness, and Corruption of Temporal Officers, that ought to see the due Execution of them. For the Help of the former, you are to examine whether any Laws already

ready made, are too sharp or too sore and so over- Queen Elizabeth,
burthensome for the Subject, or whether any 1572.
of them are too loose or too soft, and so over-dangerous to the State; for like as the former may put in Danger many an Innocent particularly, so the second may put in Danger both the Nocent and Innocent, and the whole State universally. You are also further to examine the Want and Superfluity of Laws, and whether Craft, Covetousness, and Malice, have devised any Means to defraud Laws already made, or how to do any Injuries for which there is no Law that hath his Being to reform it: Or whether the Commonweal and State of this Realm, by reason of any Imperfection or Cause, is like to fall to any Danger or Peril; for the greater the Danger is, the greater should the Care and Consideration be for the Remedy of it. You are also to examine whether there are too many Laws for any one Thing, which breedeth so many Doubts, that the Subject is sometimes to seek how to observe them, and the Chancellor how to give Advice concerning them.

'As to the second Imperfection, which is the Want of the due Execution of Laws; because I have thought oft with myself what might be the best Remedy, if not to make all Laws perfectly executed (for that I can hardly hope for) yet to make them in much better Case than now they be. And when I had considered all Things, I could find no Help but this: The First, by having great Care in the Choice of those Officers that have the Execution of Laws. The Second, to do as much as may be for the banishing of Sloth, Corruption, and Fears, from them. A Third Way there is, which I leave to your Judgments, this it is: There should be a Triennial or Biennial Visitation, in this Nature, made of all the Temporal Officers and Ministers that by virtue of their Office have in Charge to see the Execution of Laws. By this I mean that the Queen's Majesty should make Choice

Queen Elibabeth. 1572.

'every second or third Year of certain expert and 'approved Persons, to whom Commission should 'be granted to try out and examine, by all Ways 'and Means, the Offences of all such as have not 'seen to the due Execution of the Laws according 'to the Offices and Charges committed to them by 'the Prince. And the Offences so found and 'certified to be sharply punished without Remis- 'sion or Redemption. Of Effect much like this, 'and to the like End, was the Visitation of the 'Church first devised; whereof, in the Beginning 'of it, came great Good doubtless; and Reason I 'see none but the like Good ought to follow upon 'like Visitation made among Temporal Officers. 'And the old Commission of Oyer tender some- 'what to this End. I doubt certainly if the Laws 'and Statutes of this Realm should not indifferently, 'uprightly, and diligently, be put in Execution '(as my Trust is they shall) especially in the great 'and open Courts of this Realm, then my Bur- 'then, I confess, is equal with the greatest; and 'yet, for my Part, I would gladly every Year hear 'of, and yield to such a Comptroller.

'Now to the last and greatest, which is the De- 'fence against the foreign Enemy abroad, and his 'Confederates, brought up and bred amongst us 'ourselves; because these Matters be by reason now 'chiefly in Hand, and that the Dealings of the out- 'ward Enemy be Matters that go to the whole, and 'that this Presence you know representeth the 'whole: Therefore in all Congruity it seemeth 'Reason, that all we, for, and in the Name of the 'whole, consider carefully of this Cause, and give 'present Assistance for the Help of it. And to the 'End you may be more able to give good Coun- 'sel and Advice therein, it hath been thought meet 'I should summarily and shortly make you privy 'of these Proceedings, which shall be the better un- 'stood if I begin at the Root, as I intend:

'This it is: The Queen's Majesty, at her com- 'ing to the Crown, finding this her Realm in a 'ragged and torn State, and yet in Wars with a

mighty

'mighty Enemy, the chief Fortreſs of the ſame loſt, to the Realm's great Diſhonour and Weakening; her Frontier Towns not ſufficiently fortified, the Revenue of the Crown greatly ſpoiled, the Treaſure of the Realm not only waſted, but the Realm alſo greatly indebted: The Land of *Ireland* much out of Order: The Staple and Store of all Kind of Munition for the Realm's Defence marvellouſly conſumed: The Navy and Sea-Matters nothing in the State they now be, was forced to give Ear to a Peace with ſome other Conditions than elſe it is like her Highneſs would come to, to the End that theſe dangerous Defaults might be in the Time of Peace ſufficiently for the Security of the Realm provided for. Whereupon indeed her Highneſs (Peace being concluded) entered into the reforming and ſupplying of moſt of all thoſe great Lacks, and for the Well-doing of them hath not forborn to take any Care or Pains, neither hath ſhe ſticked for the compaſſing of this both to ſpend her own Treaſure, to ſell her own Lands, to prove her own Credit at Home and Abroad to the uttermoſt, and all this for our Sureties and Quiet. Queen Elizabeth, 1572.

'Thus have you heard the Sum of thoſe Proceedings; whereby it is plain and evident, that as our moſt Dear and Gracious Sovereign Lady, hath, for the Preſervation of Common Quiet, and for our own Surety againſt the Common Enemy, forborn no Care or Travel in the deviſing; no more hath ſhe Charge or Expence in the performing. I may ſafely affirm it, becauſe I am well able to prove it, that the Charges of the managing of theſe Affairs, and that that hath been done ſince the Queen's Majeſty came to the Crown, in ſupplying the Dangers aforementioned, amount to as much as two of the greateſt Subſidies that I can remember; a Matter not poſſible to be born for that which is paſt, nor to be continued for that which is to come by the ordinary Revenue of the Crown, and yet of neceſſity to be done, except all (which God forbid)

'ſhould

Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'ſhould run to Ruin: If when any Part of the 'Natural Body happeneth to be in Danger, the 'Head and every Part haſteth to the Relief; what 'would then be done, trow ye, when Peril is of-'fered, that the Head ſhould take the whole Care 'and bear the whole Burthen, and all the Mem-'bers remain uncareful and uncharged therewith? 'How light a Burthen it is when it is born of ma-'ny, is underſtood of us all. But hereof I make 'no Stay, becauſe there is no Doubt your Good-'Wills and Towardneſs upon theſe Conſiderati-'ons be ſuch, as this laſt Speech of mine needeth 'not, and ſo doubtleſs the Queen's Highneſs taketh 'it. And yet your Wiſdoms well known, that 'the Office of this Place which I occupy, craveth 'thus much to be ſaid at my Hands; and for that 'Purpoſe chiefly could I truſt you take it, and not 'for any Neceſſity to draw them by Perſuaſion 'that otherwiſe of their own Diſpoſition be for-'ward enough. The Declarations of the Proceed-'ings being uttered, I do aſſure myſelf to ſuffice to 'Men of your Underſtanding and Inclination. 'For how can a Man think that any is ſo void of 'Reaſon, that he would not gladly offer any Aid 'againſt a Foreign Enemy, that he were able to 'make for the Safety of his own Country, his So-'vereign, himſelf, his Wife and Children; eſpeci-'ally when by Reaſon it is plain, that the Queen's 'Majeſty hath already, and daily doth employ her 'own Treaſure, yea, and her Lands and Credit 'not in any glorious Triumphs, ſuperfluous and 'ſumptuous Buildings of Delight, vain and charge-'able Embaſſages, neither in any other Matters of 'Will and Pleaſure; I mean, no Expence to be 'noted in a Prince of thirteen Years Reign, but as 'far as Man can judge in the Service of her Realm 'and neceſſary Defence of her People, and for the 'Annoyance of the Enemy. Yet hath it been 'ſeen ere this, that Prince's Wills, Pleaſures and 'Delights have been followed in Expences as Ne-'ceſſities. And now, God be thanked, the Doings 'have been ſuch ſince the Queen's Highneſs's

'Reign,

'Reign, that to the indifferent Man it will be probable and plain, that the Relieving of the Realm's Neceſſity is become the Prince's Delight; a good Change, God continue it, a marvellous good Example for us to follow, and yet it is ſcant credible how long it was, and in the End with what Difficulty the Queen's Majeſty came to agree that this Example ſhould be followed by us, in being content that this Parliament ſhould be ſummoned, that it might be moved, that the Realm might contribute to the Realm's Defence with ſuch Difficulty indeed, that if any other Way could have been deviſed (her Honour and Realm's Surety ſaved) this had never been attempted: So loth ſhe is to any offenſive Matter by Burthen or Charge, that if any other Way could have been deviſed, this had not been: And ſo, from her own Mouth, ſhe commanded me to ſay unto you. Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'Oh what a Grief it is to a Prince (trow you) when he findeth ſuch Want, that he is not able ſo to conſider of the Service of his Servants and Subjects; this dangerous and neceſſary Service as their Deſerts do crave! knowing that moſt commonly the very Life and Heart of the Servant and Soldier, which ſo often offereth himſelf to the Cannon, the Pike, the Fire, is either overthrown or ſet up as a Regard is had of his Perils. Except there be ſome odd Men (as they call them) of that Perfection, that Virtue and Well-Doing is their Mark, and not Reward, who hold for firm, that *Recti facti Merces eſt feciſſe tantum*, but *Rara avis in terris*, &c. Yea, thoſe are ſo rare as Counſel cannot be given that Princes Service ſhould hang on the Help of ſuch Hope, and yet theſe be the perfecteſt and beſt, but the World is not ſerved by ſuch. To give good Words is a good Thing, but often uſed, albeit never ſo cunningly, without Deeds of Service, is reputed but as Wind, and is indeed *dare verba*. Marry, Power ſerving not, then it deſerveth great Commendations; for it is as much as can

'be

Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

'be done: For *ultra posse non est esse*. But hereof 'thinketh little the greatest Number. But to a 'Prince who thinketh thus much, and daily think-'eth and feeleth of it, what a tormenting Trouble 'is such a Want think ye? These wants when 'they happen, would be, ought to be most holden. 'But here I have troubled you further than I 'meant, or perchance needed.

'And thus no further to hinder you, but to 'make an End. You have heard, first, the Causes 'of this Assembly. Secondly, What I think meet 'to be remembred. Thirdly, What for the Go-'vernance of the Subject at Home, and what hath 'been done for the Defence of the Enemy Abroad; 'your Office and Duty is to be careful to consider 'of these Matters, which I have the rather sum-'marily remembred than effectually discoursed 'upon. The former pertaineth to my Office as a 'Remembrancer. The second to you as Execu-'tors of these Remembrances. And because you 'of the Nether House cannot, without a Head, 'thus do; therefore it resteth, that you, according 'to your antient Order, of yourselves chuse some 'wise and discreet Man, who, after he hath been 'by you chosen and presented, and that Presentati-'on by the Queen's Majesty allowed, shall then 'be your Speaker, *&c.*'

Robert Bell, Esq. chosen Speaker.

May the 10th. The House of Commons pre-sented *Robert Bell*, Esq. for their Speaker, who, with the usual Ceremonies, was allowed (*a*). But no further Notice is taken of the Speeches com-monly made on that Occasion.

On *Monday*, *May* 12th, an Entry is made by the Lords, 'That this Day, by Advice and Con-'sent of the whole House, a Committee was ap-'pointed to confer with such Members of the 'Lower House, as it should please them to appoint, 'for the more speedy and better Direction of 'them in the Great Matter touching the Queen 'of

(*a*) Afterwards knighted, and made Chief-Baron of the Exchequer. *Diar. Procer.*

of *Scots*.' The Committee consisted of the following Lords; Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

The Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Sussex*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Leicester*, and *Essex*; the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*; the Lord Chamberlain *Burleigh*, with the Lords *Grey*, *Windsor*, *Wentworth*, *North*, and *Chandois*. The Place appointed for the Meeting was the Star-Chamber, at eight o'Clock the next Morning.

In the *Journal* of the Commons are the Names of the Committee appointed by them, which were these; Proceedings on the Affair of Mary Queen of Scots.

Mr. Treasurer.	Mr. *Popham*.
Mr. Comptroller.	Mr. *Yelverton*.
Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy.	Mr. *Coleby*.
	Mr. *Heneage*.
The Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Mr. *Charles Howard*.
	Mr. *Hatton*,
The Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.	Mr. *Astley*.
	Mr. *Shute*.
Sir *Maurice Berkley*.	Mr. *Hen. Knolles*, sen.
Sir *Hugh Pawlet*.	Mr. *Hen. Knolles*, jun.
Sir *Thomas Scott*.	Mr. *Peter Wentworth*.
Sir *Owen Hopton*.	Mr. *Sampole*.
Sir *Nicholas Arnold*.	Mr. *Norton*.
Sir *John Thynne*.	Mr. *William Moor*.
Sir *Hen. Gates*.	Mr. *John Vaughan*.
Sir *Rowland Howard*.	Mr. *Tho. Randall*.
Mr. Doctor *Wilson*.	Mr. *John Vaughan* of *Caermarthen*.
Mr. Attorney of the Duchy.	Mr. *Greenfield*, sen.
Mr. Recorder of *London*.	Mr. *Charles Somerset*.
Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*.	Mr. *Hen. Killegrew*.
Mr. Serjeant *Geffry*.	Mr. *William Gerrard*.
Mr. *Mounson*.	Mr. *Dalton*, and
Mr. *Sandys*.	Mr. *Peacock*.

We hear no more of this Conference in the *Journals* of the Lords, nor what was done in it, relating, particularly, to the Queen of *Scots*, 'till *May* the 28th, when a new Committee of Lords was appointed,

Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

pointed, about the same Matter, which were only the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Sussex* and *Leicester*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and the Lords *Burleigh* and *Grey*. The Result of which was, that, on the last Day of the same Month, a Bill was brought in, and read a first Time, touching *Mary*, the late *Scottish* Queen. *June* the 4th, the Bill was read a third Time, and passed the House of Lords, with this Addition to the Title, *A Bill touching* Mary, *Daughter and Heir of* James *the Fifth, late King of* Scotland, *commonly called the Queen of* Scots. This Bill was sent down to the Commons, who kept it until the 26th of the same Month, and then returned it, concluded. But tho' the Bill went so currently thro' the two Houses, the Queen would not suffer it to pass into a Law; there being no Mention of such an Act, in the Catalogue at the End of this Session, nor in the printed *Statutes*. For which Reason, we are much in the Dark what were the Contents of this extraordinary Bill. Mr. *Camden* only writes, that, at the End of the last Parliament, (but mistakenly for this;) 'It was proposed, that if the Queen of *Scots* 'should, again, offend against the Laws of *England*, 'she should be proceeded against, by Law, as if 'she were the Wife of an *English* Peer. But the 'Queen, interposing her Authority, prevented 'the enacting thereof (*b*).'

However, tho' this Act did not pass, yet there were two other very severe Laws made against all who had Designs in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*. On the 19th of *May* a Bill was read the first Time in the House of Lords, for Punishment of all such as shall rebelliously take or detain, from the Queen's Majesty, any Castle, Tower, Fortress, Ships, or other Munition of War. This passed into a Law; and, by it, some of the Articles were made Felony, and others High Treason. On the 21st, a Bill was brought in, and read against all such as shall conspire or practise the Enlargement of any Prisoners. This Act

(*b*) *Camden* in *Kennet*, p. 435.

Act declared, 'That if any Perſon ſhould go about to deliver any Man, impriſoned upon the Queen's Writ for Treaſon, or Suſpicion of Treaſon, before his Arraignment, the ſaid Perſon ſhould forfeit his Life-Eſtate, and be impriſoned during the Queen's Pleaſure. If arraigned, he ſhould incur the Penalty of Death; if condemned, the Penalty of High Treaſon.' Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

Mr. *Camden* obſerves (*c*), that the Severity of theſe Laws was only neceſſary for the Times; and the Parliament thought fit to make them temporary that is, for the Queen's Life. He adds, that ſo many Deſigns were ſet on Foot to deliver the Duke of *Norfolk*, out of the *Tower*, as haſtned his Execution, which had been put off for near four Months; and it was not 'till after paſſing the laſt Act, that the Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons, the Remonſtrances of the Privy Council, and the Importunity of Preachers, by ſuggeſting the Greatneſs of the Danger ſhe was in, could overcome the Queen's Clemency. In fine, the Duke was beheaded on a Scaffold, on *Tower-Hill*, *June* the 2d: He died with great Courage and Magnanimity, amidſt a vaſt Crowd of ſorrowful and weeping Spectators; for it is incredible, ſays our Author, 'how dearly he was beloved by the Populace; whoſe Good-Will he had gained by a Munificence and Affability ſuitable to ſo great a Prince.' It is probable the Queen was ſatisfied with this Sacrifice, alone, for we find no Act to attaint his Blood or Poſterity paſſed; a Circumſtance we have never obſerved before in Caſes of the like Nature. The Duke of Norfolk beheaded.

At this Time the Nation was exceedingly peſtered with Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars, by whom ſeveral Murders, Thefts, and other great Outrages were committed (*d*). It was therefore enacted, by this Parliament, that every Perſon, above the Age of fourteen, being taken begging, or wandring about as a Vagrant, for the firſt Time,

(*c*) *Camden* in *Kennet*, p. 440.
(*d*) *Hollingſhead's* Chron. p. 1228.
Statutes at large, 14 Eliz. chap. 5.

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should be burned thro' the Griſtle of the Right Ear with a hot Iron of an Inch Compaſs, &c.

It ſeems as if this Parliament was called only to give a Sanction to the Duke's Execution; for the Seſſion was but ſhort, about ſix Weeks; and no Act of any Conſequence, except what are before mentioned, paſſed in it. A Caſe of Privilege was brought before the Houſe of Lords, by the Lord *Cromwell*, who had been attached, by a Writ, out of Chancery, at the Suit of one *Tavernor*. The Lords adjudged the Attachment void and contrary to the antient Privileges of the Peerage; but ſo, that at any Time hereafter, by the Queen's Prerogative, or by the common Law and Cuſtom of the Realms, or any Statute Law, or ſufficient Preſident, the Perſons of any of the Lords of Parliament, in ſuch Caſes as this of Lord *Cromwell's*, ought to be attached, or attachable, if ſo ſhewed and warranted as above; this Order, or any Thing, therein contained, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

A Caſe of Privilege.

Having done with the Proceedings of the Lords, we muſt go back, as uſual, to thoſe of the Commons. After the Committee for the Conference was appointed, we find no Particulars entered, relating to it, 'till ſome Weeks afterwards, which will appear in the Sequel. In the mean Time, on the 16th of *May*, a Motion was made in the Houſe, 'Whether it was convenient that the Commons ſhould join with the Lords in a Petition to her Majeſty, for the Execution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Or, that they ſhould only ſignify to her Majeſty, their Reſolution and Opinion that neceſſary Execution was to be done?' Upon putting the Queſtion, it was agreed by all, that their general Reſolution was propereſt to be ſignified to her; and not by Way of Petition or Direction from this Houſe.

On the 19th, the Attorney of the Court of Wards, in the Name of the whole Committee, on the Great Affair of the Queen of *Scots*, reported to the Houſe their Conference with the Lords. Which done, after many Speeches, it was upon the Queſtion, reſolved, for the better Safety and Preſervation

ſervation of her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, to proceed againſt the *Scottiſh* Queen in the higheſt Degree of Treaſon; and therein to touch her, as well in Life as in Title and Dignity; and this with all poſſible Speed, and with the whole Voice of the Houſe. Queen Elizabeth 1572.

The *Annaliſt* of the *Reformation*, under this Queen, hath given us a very warm and long Speech, made againſt this unhappy Lady and her Title to the *Engliſh* Crown, by an anonymous Member of the Houſe of Commons; but, at what Time he does not mention. He is miſtaken alſo in placing this Speech in the Debates of the laſt Parliament, inſtead of this; for the Affair had not then a Parliamentary Inquiry into it. This Author tranſcribed it from a Manuſcript in the *Cotton* Library *(e)*. It is obſervable, that the Stream ran all one Way at this Time; the poor Queen of *Scots* having not one Friend, or Advocate, either within Doors or without, that durſt endeavour to ſtem the Tide, or, openly, to ſay one Word in her Favour.

A Bill for Rites and Ceremonies in the Church, had been read in the Houſe three Times; when, on *May* the 22d, the Speaker declared to the Houſe, that it was her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that from henceforth no Bills concerning Religion ſhould be preferred, or received into this Houſe; unleſs the ſame ſhould be firſt conſidered and approved by the Clergy. And further, that her Majeſty deſired to ſee the two laſt, read in the Houſe, touching Rites and Ceremonies. On which, it was order'd, that the ſaid Bills ſhould be delivered to her, by ſuch Members as were of the Privy-Council. A Meſſage to the Commons, not to meddle with Religious Matters.

'The next Day the Treaſurer of the Houſhold reported to the Houſe the Delivery of the two Bills of Rites and Ceremonies to her Majeſty; together with the humble Requeſt of this Houſe, moſt humbly to beſeech her Highneſs not to conceive ill Opinion of this Houſe, if ſo it were that her Majeſty

(e) Strype's Appendix, Vol. II. p. 9. *ad finem.*

Queen Elizabeth. 1572. should not like well of the said Bills, or of the Parties that preferred them. And declared further, that her Majesty seemed utterly to mislike the first Bill, and him that brought the same into the House; and that her Highness' express Will and Pleasure was, that no Preacher or Minister should be impeached or indicted, or otherwise molested or troubled, as the Preamble of the said Bill did purport; Adding these comfortable Words farther, that her Majesty, as Defender of the Faith, will aid and maintain all good Protestants to the discouraging all Papists.'

The Business of the Queen of *Scots* and the unfortunate Duke of *Norfolk*, having been long canvassed by the Committees of both Houses; they at length agreed upon a joint Petition to the Queen. And, on the 28th of *May*, her Majesty was attended by the said Committees, who presented her a Petition with Reasons to prove, that it not only consisted with Justice, but also with the Queen's Honour and Safety, to proceed Criminally against the *pretended Scottish* Queen *(f)*.

On the same Day, as it seems, the *Journalist* tells us, 'That Mr. Treasurer reported to the House, that he and certain others of the Committee, chosen by themselves, did presently come from her Majesty; and that her Majesty doth very thankfully accept the Good-Will and Zeal of this House, in their Carefulness for her Majesty's Safety and Preservation; and that as her Majesty thinketh the Course chosen by this House, and wherein the Lords have joined with this House, to be the best and surest Way for her Majesty's Preservation and Safety indeed; yet her Highness for certain Respects by herself conceived, thinketh good for this Time to defer, but not to reject that Course of Proceeding as yet; and in the mean Time, with all convenient Speed, to go forward in the great Matter against the *Scottish* Queen with a second Bill, being the other Part of the said Choice heretofore offered to this House.

(f) See the Petition and Reasons in *D'Ewes's Journals*, p. 215 *et seq.*

House. And that her Majesty minding in that Bill by any Implication or Drawing of Words, not to have the *Scottish* Queen either enabled or disabled to or from any Manner of Title to the Crown of this Realm, or any other Title to the same whatsoever touched at all, willeth that the Bill be first drawn by her Learned Counsel, and by them penned before the same be treated of or dealt in, in this House. And that in the mean Time of bringing in of the said Bill, this House enter not into any Speeches or Arguments of that Matter. And that her Majesty hath likewise signified the same her like Pleasure unto the Lords of the Upper-House, by some of the Committees of the same House.' Queen Elizabeth. 1572.

The Commons came to a Resolution on the Question, Whether a Petition was to be drawn up and presented to her Majesty, for the speedy Execution of the Duke? That the said Petition should be digested and put in Writing against the next Morning, and delivered to the Speaker to be presented by him to the Queen. But two Days after, *May* 31st, a Question was put for respiting the said Petition, and, it was carried in the Affirmative. 'Because, perhaps, her Majesty will order it to be done sooner of her own Accord than being pressed to it by the House. And therefore it was wholly laid aside.' But, however, the Bills and Remonstrances against the Queen of *Scots*, took no Effect till several Years after. The Duke of *Norfolk*, however, fell a Sacrifice to the Jealousies of the Times, being beheaded, as before observ'd, whilst this Parliament was sitting.

The Ceremonies at the Conclusion of this Session are omitted, thro' the Negligence of the Clerks in both the *Journals*. And, we are only told, in that of the Lords, That, on the 30th Day of *June* the Queen came to the House, when the Lord-Keeper, by her Command, prorogued this Parliament to the Feast of *All Saints*, *November* 2d, following.

The Parliamentary History of this Reign, would be very concise, considering the Duration of it, if

Queen Elizabeth, 1572.

we had no other Tracts to follow than what are ſhewn by the particular Hiſtorian of it, or our more general Hiſtories of *England*.

Mr. *Camden* takes little or no Notice of the Proceedings of any Parliament from this Period; but has contented himſelf in attending his Royal Miſtreſs thro' the various Foreign Confederacies, Wars, Marine-expeditions, and Love-affairs of her Reign. Indeed there never was a Time, when Parliaments met ſo ſeldom; and, it ſeems, as if this Heroic Queen meant to ſhew her Subjects, that ſhe could reign without their Aid and Aſſiſtance. For, from the Time of the laſt Prorogation, we meet with nothing like a Parliament 'till the eighteenth Year of this Reign.

The *Journals* of the Lords do not expreſsly give us the Times of the ſeveral Prorogations, in this Interval; but only inform us, that on the 8th Day of *February*, in the Year above mentioned, after various and ſundry Prorogations, the ſame Parliament met to do Buſineſs (*g*).

Anno Regni 18 1575. At Weſtminſter.

Being aſſembled, the Queen came not to the Houſe, becauſe this was no new Parliament; and the firſt Thing we find that was done by the Lords was to read a Bill for the Reformation of Apparel. Mr. *Camden* takes Notice (*h*), that the Year before this, the Queen had put out a Proclamation to ſtop the great Exceſs this modiſh Luxury had then arrived to. Obſerving, that, to maintain this Shining Vanity, a great Quantity of Money was yearly carried out of the Land, to buy Silks and other foreign Fineries, to the Impoveriſhment of the Commonwealth, and the almoſt Ruin of ſeveral noble Families, who ſtrove to vie with one another in this Kind of Extravagance. The Reader might obſerve, that ſeveral Sumptuary Laws, were made in different Reigns, to reſtrain this Vice; and now the Queen's Proclamation being little regarded,

A Bill againſt Luxery in Apparel.

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(*g*) *Poſt varias et diverſas Prorogationes.* DIAR. PROCER.

(*h*) P. 452. *A.* 1574.

an Act of Parliament was designed to enforce the Observance. But this Way had as little Success as the former, for tho' the Bill passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the Commons, they never returned it. Probably, because an Act of this Nature might be an Hindrance to Trade; and, indeed, if the Restraint of this Luxury was agreeable to the honest Politics of those Times, it has been thought quite otherwise in some much later Reigns; when Equipages, Operas, Masquerades, Dress, Vanities of all Sorts, were never so much encouraged. Whereby the Nobility and Gentry, exhausting their own Estates, become more subservient to, and dependent on, the Crown. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

On the same Day, *Feb.* 8th, *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, younger Brother to the late Earl *Thomas*, beheaded at *York*, had a summons to Parliament, and took his Place in the House, with some other young Lords, who were introduced at the same Time. Amongst whom was *John* Lord *Stourton*, called up by Writ; tho' the Attainder of his Father, (who was executed in the last Reign for an infamous Murder) was only reversed this Parliament.

There is nothing remarkable else entered in the Lords *Journals*, 'till the 27th of this Month; when a Bill for a *Subsidy* of two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* were sent up by the Commons; it passed the House of Lords on the first of *March*. The printed Statutes make this Grant three *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, besides the *Subsidy*. There was, also, an Act for confirming a Grant of Six Shillings in the Pound, from the Clergy, to be paid in three Years. A Subsidy.

But tho' the *Journals* of the Lords furnish us with so little to the Purpose, those of the Commons were never more copious, for so short a Session, as in this. In which are many Things very remarkable, relating to the Liberties and Privileges of that House. The *Journalist* gives us a Speech made, the very first Day of this Session, by *Peter Wentworth*, Esq; Member for the Borough of *Tregony* in *Cornwal*, which

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. which evidently shews that all the *Cornish* Members were not Courtiers in those Days. The Speech and the Consequences of it are as memorable, as any Thing we have yet met with in the Course of these Enquiries; and therefore needs no Introduction, nor any Excuse for the Length of it.

Mr. Wentworth's Speech in behalf of the Liberties of the House.

Mr. Speaker,

'I find written in a little Volume these Words in 'effect:' "Sweet is the Name of Liberty, but "the Thing itself a Value beyond all inestimable "Treasure." 'So much the more it behoveth us 'to take care lest we, contenting ourselves with the 'Sweetness of the Name, lose and forego the 'Thing, being of the greatest Value that can come 'unto this noble Realm. The inestimable Treasure 'is the Use of it in this House. And therefore I 'do think it needful to put you in Remembrance, 'that this Honourable Assembly are assembled and 'come together here in this Place, for three special 'Causes of most weighty and great Importance.

'The first and principal is to make and abrogate 'such Laws, as may be most for the Preservation 'of our noble Sovereign.

'The second .....

The third is to make or abrogate such Laws as 'may be to the chiefest Surety, Safe-keeping, and 'Enrichment of this noble Realm of *England*. So 'that I do think that the Part of a faithful-hearted 'Subject is, to do his Endeavour to remove all 'Stumbling-Blocks out of the Way that may im-'pair, or any manner of way hinder, these good and 'godly Causes of this our coming together. I was 'never of Parliament but the last, and the last 'Session, at both which Times I saw the Liberty 'of free Speech, the which is the only Salve to heal 'all the Sores of this Common-wealth, so much 'and so many Ways infringed, and so many 'Abuses offered to this Honourable Council, as hath 'much grieved me even of very Conscience and 'Love to my Prince and State. Wherefore to a-'void the like, I do think it expedient to open the

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'Commodities that grow to the Prince and whole State, by free Speech used in this Place; at the least so much as my simple Wit can gather of it, the which is very little in respect of that, that wise Heads can say therein, and so it is of the more Force. Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

'First, All Matters that concern God's Honour, through free Speech shall be propagated here and set forward, and all Things that do hinder it removed, repulsed and taken away.

'Next, There is nothing commodious, profitable, or any way beneficial for the Prince or State, but faithful and loving Subjects will offer it in this Place.

'Thirdly, All Things discommodious, perilous or hurtful to the Prince or State shall be prevented, even so much as seemeth good to our merciful God to put in our Minds, the which no doubt shall be sufficient, if we do earnestly call upon him and fear him: For *Solomon* saith, *The Fear of God is the Beginning of Wisdom. Wisdom*, saith he, *breatheth Life into her Children, receiveth them that seek her, and will go beside them in the Way of Righteousness:* So that our Minds shall be directed to all good, needful, and necessary Things, if we call upon God with faithful Hearts.

'Fourthly, If the Envious do offer any Thing hurtful or perilous to the Prince or State in this Place, What Incommodity doth grow thereby? Verily I think none, nay, will you have me to say my simple Opinion therein, much Good cometh thereof; how forsooth? why by the Darkness of the Night the Brightness of the Sun sheweth more excellent and clear, and how can Truth appear and conquer until Falshood, and all Subtilties that should shadow and darken it, be found out? for it is offered in this Place as a Piece of fine Needle-work to them that are most skilful therein, for there cannot be a false Stich (God aiding us) but will be found out.

'Fifthly,

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Fifthly, This Good cometh thereof, a wicked 'Purpose may the easier be prevented when it is 'known.

Sixthly, An evil Man can do the less Harm 'when it is known.

Seventhly, Sometime it happeneth that a good 'Man will in this Place (for Argument Sake) pre-'fer an evil Cause, both for that he would have a 'doubtful Truth to be opened and manifested, and 'also the Evil prevented; so that to this Point I 'conclude, that in this House, which is termed a 'Place of free Speech, there is nothing so necessary 'for the Preservation of the Prince and State as free 'Speech; and without this it is a Scorn and Mocke-'ry to call it a Parliament House, for in Truth it is 'none, but a very School of Flattery and Dissi-'mulation; and so a fit Place to serve the Devil 'and his Angels in, and not to glorify God and 'benefit the Common-wealth.

'Now to the Impediments thereof, which, by 'God's Grace and my little Experience, I will utter 'plainly and faithfully, I will use the Words of '*Elihu*, *Behold, I am as the new Wine which hath* '*no Vent, and bursteth the new Vessels in sunder,* '*therefore I will speak that I may have a Vent. I* '*will open my Lips, and make Answer, I will re-*'*gard no Manner of Person, no Man will I spare,* '*for if I should go about to please Men, I know not* '*how soon my Maker will take me away:* My 'Text is vehement; the which by God's Sufferance 'I mean to observe, hoping therewith to offend 'none; for that of very Justice, none ought to be 'offended for seeking to do good and saying of the 'Truth.

'Amongst other, Mr. Speaker, Two Things 'do great Hurt in this Place, of the which I do 'mean to speak: The one is a Rumour which 'runneth about the House, and this it is, 'Take heed 'what you do, the Queen's Majesty liketh not such 'a Matter, whosoever prefereth it, she will be of-'fended with him; or the contrary, her Majesty 'liketh

'liketh of such a Matter, whosoever speaketh a- Queen Elizabeth.
'gainst it, she will be much offended with him.' 1575.

'The other: Sometimes a Message is brought 'into the House, either of Commanding or Inhi- 'biting, very injurious to the Freedom of Speech 'and Consultation. I would to God, Mr. Speaker, 'that these two were buried in Hell, I mean Ru- 'mours and Messages; for wicked undoubtedly 'they are, the Reason is, the Devil was the first 'Author of them, from whom proceedeth nothing 'but Wickedness: Now I will set down Reasons 'to prove them wicked.

'*First*, If we be in Hand with any Thing for 'the Advancement of God's Glory, were it not 'wicked to say, the Queen liketh not of it, or com- 'mandeth that we shall not deal in it? Greatly 'were these Speeches to her Majesty's Dishonour, 'and an hard Opinion were it, Mr. Speaker, that 'these Things should enter into her Majesty's 'Thought; much more wicked and unnatural 'were it that her Majesty should like or command 'any thing against God, or hurtful to herself and 'the State. The Lord grant this Thing may be 'far from her Majesty's Heart. Here this may be 'objected, that if the Queen's Majesty should have 'Intelligence of any thing perilous or beneficial to 'her Majesty's Person or the State, would you 'not have her Majesty give Knowledge thereof in 'this House, whereby her Peril may be prevented, 'and her Benefit provided for? God forbid, then, 'were her Majesty in worse Case than any of her 'Subjects. And, in the Beginning of our Speech 'I shewed it to be a special Cause of our Assem- 'bling, but my Intent is, That nothing should be 'done to God's Dishonour, to her Majesty's Peril, 'or the Peril of the State. And therefore I will 'shew the Inconveniences that grow of these 'two.

'*First*, If we follow not the Prince's Mind, *So- 'lomon* saith, *The King's Displeasure is a Messenger of 'Death:* This is a terrible Thing to weak Nature, 'for who is able to abide the fierce Countenance of

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Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'his Prince, but if we will discharge our Consciences, and be true to God, and Prince and State, we 'must have due Consideration of the Place and the 'Occasion of our coming together; and especially 'have Regard unto the Matter wherein we both 'shall serve God, and our Prince and State faithfully, and not dissembling as Eye-Pleasers, and so 'justly avoid all Displeasures both to God and our 'Prince; for *Solomon* saith, *In the Way of the Righteous there is Life*, as for any other Way, it is 'the Path to Death. So that to avoid everlasting Death and Condemnation, with the High 'and Mighty God, we ought to proceed in every 'Cause according to the Matter, and not according 'to the Prince's Mind: And now I will shew 'you a Reason to prove it perilous always to 'follow the Princes Mind. Many Times it 'falleth out, that a Prince may favour a Cause 'perilous to himself and the whole State; What 'are we then if we follow the Princes Mind? Are 'we not unfaithful unto God, our Prince and 'State? Yes truly, we are chosen of the whole 'Realm, of a special Trust and Confidence by 'them reposed in us, to forsee all such Inconveniences. Then I will set down my Opinion 'herein, that is to say, He that dissembleth to her 'Majesty's Peril, is to be counted as a hateful Enemy; for that he giveth unto her Majesty a detestable *Judas* his Kiss; and he that contrarieth her 'Mind to her Preservation, yea though her Majesty would be much offended with him, is to be 'adjudged an approved Lover, for *faithful are the 'Wounds of a Lover*, saith *Solomon*, *but the Kisses of 'an Enemy are deceitful:* And it is better, saith '*Antisthenes*, to fall amongst Ravens than amongst 'Flatterers, for Ravens do but devour the dead 'Corps, but Flatterers the Living. And it is both 'traiterous and hellish, through Flattery, to seek 'to devour our natural Prince, and that do Flatterers; therefore let them leave it with Shame 'enough.

Now

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Now to another great Matter that riſeth of this 'grievous Rumour, What is it forſooth? What-'ſoever thou art that pronounceſt it, thou doſt pro-'nounce thy own Diſcredit. Why ſo? for that 'thou doſt what lieth in thee to pronounce the 'Prince to be perjured, the which we neither may 'nor will believe; for we ought not without 'too manifeſt Proof to credit any Diſhonour to 'our Anointed; no, we ought not without it to 'think any Evil of her Majeſty, but rather to hold 'him a Liar what Credit ſoever he be of; for the 'Queen's Majeſty is the Head of the Law, and 'muſt of Neceſſity maintain the Law; for by the 'Law her Majeſty is made juſtly our Queen, and 'by it ſhe is moſt chiefly maintained: Hereunto 'agreeth the moſt excellent Words of *Bracton (i)* 'who ſaith, *The King hath no Peer nor Equal in his 'Kingdom:* He hath no Equal; for otherwiſe he 'might loſe his Authority of Commanding, 'ſince that an Equal hath no Power of Com-'mandment over his Equal. The King ought 'not to be under Man, but under God, and under 'the Law, becauſe the Law maketh him a King. 'Let the King therefore attribute that to the Law, 'which the Law attributeth unto him, that is, Do-'minion and Power; for he is not a King in whom 'Will and not the Law doth rule, and therefore 'he ought to be under the Law. I pray you mark 'the Reaſon why my Authority ſaith, The King 'ought to be under the Law, for, ſaith he, *He is 'God's Vicegerent upon Earth*; that is, his Lieu-'tenant to execute and do his Will, the which is 'Law or Juſtice, and thereunto was her Majeſty 'ſworn at her Coronation, as I have heard learned 'Men in this Place ſundry Times affirm; unto 'the which I doubt not but her Majeſty will, for 'her Honour and Conſcience Sake, have Special 'Regard; for free Speech and Conſcience in this 'Place are granted by a Special Law, as that with-'out the which the Prince and State cannot be pre-

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(i) Bracton *de Legibus Angliæ, Lib.* i. chap. 7.

Queen Elixabeth. 1575. ‘ ſerved or maintained. So that I would wiſh e-
‘ very Man that feareth God, regardeth the Prin-
‘ ces Honour or eſteemeth his own Credit, to fear
‘ at all Times hereafter to pronounce any ſuch hor-
‘ rible Speeches, ſo much to the Prince's Diſhonour;
‘ for in ſo doing he ſheweth himſelf an open Ene-
‘ my to her Majeſty, and ſo worthy to be contemn-
‘ ed of all faithful Hearts. Yet there is another
‘ Inconvenience that riſeth of this wicked Rumour:
‘ The Utterers thereof ſeem to put into our Heads,
‘ That the Queen's Majeſty hath conceived an
‘ evil Opinion, Diffidence and Miſtruſt in us her
‘ faithful and loving Subjects; for if ſhe had not,
‘ her Majeſty would then wiſh that all the Things
‘ dangerous to herſelf ſhould be laid open before us,
‘ aſſuring herſelf, that loving Subjects, as we are,
‘ would, without Schooling and Direction, with
‘ careful Minds to our Powers, prevent and with-
‘ ſtand all Perils that might happen unto her Ma-
‘ jeſty. And this Opinion I doubt not but her Ma-
‘ jeſty hath conceived of us, for undoubtedly there
‘ was never Prince that had faithfuller Hearts than
‘ her Majeſty hath here; and ſurely there were
‘ never Subjects had more Cauſe heartily to love
‘ their Prince for her quiet Government than we
‘ have. So that he that raiſeth this Rumour, ſtill
‘ encreaſeth but Diſcredit in ſeeking to ſow Sediti-
‘ on as much as lieth in him, between our merciful
‘ Queen and us her moſt loving and faithful Sub-
‘ jects, the which by God's Grace ſhall never lie in
‘ his Power, let him ſpit out all his Venome, and
‘ therewithal ſhew out his malicious Heart, yet I
‘ have collected ſundry Reaſons to prove this a
‘ hateful and a deteſtable Rumour, and the Utter-
‘ er thereof to be a very *Judas* to our noble Queen;
‘ therefore let any hereafter take heed how he pub-
‘ liſh it, for as a very *Judas* unto her Majeſty, and
‘ an Enemy to the whole State, we ought to ac-
‘ cept him.

‘ Now the other was a Meſſage, Mr. Speaker,
‘ brought the laſt Seſſion into the Houſe, that we
‘ ſhould not deal in any Matters of Religion, but
first

first to receive from the Bishops: Surely this was a doleful Message, for it was as much as to say, Sirs, ye shall not deal in God's Causes, no, ye shall in nowise seek to advance his Glory, and in Recompence of your Unkindness, God in his Wrath will look upon your Doings; that the chief Cause that ye were called together for, the which is the Preservation of your Prince, shall have no good Success: If some one of this House had presently made this Interpretation of this said Message, had he not seemed to have the Spirit of Prophecy? Yet truly I assure you, Mr. Speaker, there were divers of this House that said with grievous Hearts, immediately upon the Message, that God of his Justice could not prosper the Session; and let it be holden for a Principle, Mr. Speaker, that Council that cometh not together in God's Name, cannot prosper; for God saith, *Where two or three are gathered together in his Name, there am I in the midst among them.* Well, God even the great and mighty God, whose Name is the Lord of Hosts, great in Counsel, and infinite in Thought, and who is the only good Director of all Hearts, was the last Session shut out of Doors: But what fell out of it forsooth? His great Indignation was therefore poured upon this House, for he did put into the Queen's Majesty's Heart to refuse good and wholesome Laws for her own Preservation: the which caused many faithful Hearts for Grief to burst out with sorrowful Tears, and moved all Papists, Traitors to God and her Majesty, who envy good Christian Government, in their Sleeves to laugh all the whole Parliament-House to Scorn: And shall I pass over this weighty Matter so slightly? Nay, I will discharge my Conscience and Duties to God, my Prince, and Country. So certain it is, Mr. Speaker, that none is without Fault, no not our noble Queen, sith then her Majesty hath committed great Fault, yea dangerous Faults to herself. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Love, even perfect Love void of Dissimulation, 'will not suffer me to hide them, to her Majesty's 'Peril, but to utter them to her Majesty's Safety: 'And these they are, it is a dangerous Thing in a 'Prince unkindly to abuse his or her Nobility and 'People, and it is a dangerous Thing in a Prince to 'oppose or bend herself against her Nobility and 'People, yea against most loving and faithful No-'bility and People. And how could any Prince 'more unkindly intreat, abuse, oppose herself a-'gainst her Nobility and People, than her Majesty 'did the last Parliament? Did she not call it of 'Purpose to prevent traiterous Perils to her Person 'and for no other Cause? Did not her Majesty 'send unto us two Bills, willing us to make choice 'of that we liked best for her Safety, and thereof 'to make a Law, promising her Majesty's Royal 'Consent thereunto? And did we not first chuse 'the one, and her Majesty refused it; yielding no 'Reason, nay, yielding great Reasons why she 'ought to have yielded to it? Yet did we never-'theless receive the other, and agreeing to make 'a Law thereof, Did not her Majesty in the End 'refuse all our Travels? And did not we, her 'Majesty's faithful Nobility and Subjects, plainly 'and openly decypher ourselves unto her Majesty 'and our hateful Enemies; and hath not her Ma-'jesty left us all open to their Revenge? Is this a 'just Recompence in our Christian Queen for our 'faithful Dealings? The Heathen do requite Good 'for Good, Then how much more is it to be ex-'pected in a Christian Prince? And will not this 'her Majesty's Handling think you, Mr. Speaker, 'make cold Dealing in any of her Majesty's Sub-'jects toward her again? I fear it will. And 'hath it not caused many already, think you, Mr. 'Speaker, to seek a Salve for the Head that they 'have broken? I fear it hath, and many more 'will do the like, if it be not prevented in Time. 'And hath it not marvellously rejoiced and encou-'raged the hollow Hearts of her Majesty's hateful 'Enemies and traiterous Subjects? No doubt but

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Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'it hath: And I beſeech God that her Majeſty 'may do all Things that may grieve the Hearts of 'her Enemies, and may joy the Hearts that un-'feignedly love her Majeſty: And I beſeech the 'ſame God to endue her Majeſty with his Wiſdom, 'whereby ſhe may diſcern faithful Advice from 'traiterous ſugared Speeches, and to ſend her Ma-'jeſty a melting yielding Heart unto ſound Coun-'ſel, that Will may not ſtand for a Reaſon: And 'then her Majeſty will ſtand when her Enemies 'are fallen, for no Eſtate can ſtand where the 'Prince will not be governed by Advice. And I 'doubt not but that ſome of her Majeſty's Coun-'cil have dealt plainly and faithfully with her Ma-'jeſty herein; if any have, let it be a ſure Token 'to her Majeſty to know them for approved Sub-'jects; and whatſoever they be that did perſuade 'her Majeſty ſo unkindly to intreat, abuſe, and 'to oppoſe herſelf againſt her Nobility and People, 'or commend her Majeſty for ſo doing, let it be 'a ſure Token to her Majeſty to know them for 'ſure Traitors and Underminers of her Majeſty's 'Life, and remove them out of her Majeſty's 'Preſence and Favour; for the more cunning they 'are, the more dangerous are they unto her Ma-'jeſty. But was this all? No, for God would 'not vouchſafe that his Holy Spirit ſhould all that 'Seſſion deſcend upon our Biſhops; ſo that in that 'Seſſion nothing was done to the Advancement of 'his Glory. I have heard of old Parliament-Men, 'that the Baniſhment of the *Pope* and *Popery*, and 'the Reſtoring of true Religion had their Be-'ginning from this Houſe, and not from the Bi-'ſhops; and I have heard that few Laws for Religi-'on had their Foundation from them; and I do 'ſurely think, before God I ſpeak it, that the Bi-'ſhops were the Cauſe of that doleful Meſſage, 'and I will ſhew you what moveth me ſo to think. 'I was, amongſt others, the laſt Parliament, ſent 'unto the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, for the Articles 'of Religion that then paſſed this Houſe. He aſked 'us, Why we did put out of the Book the Articles

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'for the Homilies, Conſecrating of Biſhops, and 'ſuch like? Surely, Sir, ſaid I, becauſe we were 'ſo occupied in other Matters, that we had no 'Time to examine them how they agreed with the 'Word of God. What, ſaid he, ſurely you miſ-'took the Matter, you will refer yourſelves whol-'ly to us therein? No, by the Faith I bear to 'God, ſaid I, we will paſs nothing before we un-'derſtand what it is; for that were but to make 'you *Popes*; make you *Popes* who liſt, ſaid I, for 'we will make you none. And ſure, Mr. Speaker, 'the Speech ſeemed to me to be a *Pope-like* Speech, 'and I fear leſt our Biſhops do attribute this of the '*Pope's* Canons unto themſelves, *Papa non poteſt 'errare*; for ſurely if they did not, they would 'reform Things amiſs, and not to ſpurn againſt 'God's People for writing therein as they do; but 'I can tell them News, they do but kick againſt 'the Pricks, for undoubtedly they both have, and 'do err, and God will reveal his Truth, maugre 'the Hearts of them and all his Enemies, for great 'is the Truth, and it will prevail: And to ſay 'the Truth, it is an Error to think that God's 'Spirit is tied only to them; for the Heavenly Spi-'rit ſaith, *Firſt ſeek the Kingdom of God and the 'Righteouſneſs thereof, and all theſe Things* (mean-'ing temporal) *ſhall be given you:* Theſe Words 'were not ſpoken to the Biſhops only, but to all; 'and the Writ, Mr. Speaker, that we are called 'up by, is chiefly to deal in God's Cauſe; ſo that 'our Commiſſion both from God, and our Prince, 'is to deal in God's Cauſes: Therefore the accept-'ting of ſuch Meſſages, and taking them in good 'Part, doth highly offend God, and is the Acceptа-'tion of the Breach of the Liberties of this Ho-'nourable Council; for is it not all one Thing to 'ſay, Sirs, you ſhall deal in ſuch Matters only, as 'to ſay, you ſhall not deal in ſuch Matters? and 'ſo as good to have Fools and Flatterers in the 'Houſe, as Men of Wiſdom, grave Judgment, 'faithful Hearts, and ſincere Conſciences; for they 'being taught what they ſhall do, can give their

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Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Conſents as well as the others: Well, *He that hath an Office*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *let him wait on his Office*, or give diligent Attendance upon his Office. It is a great and ſpecial Part of our Duty and Office, Mr. Speaker, to maintain the Freedom of Conſultation and Speech; for by this, good Laws that do ſet forth God's Glory, and for the Preſervation of the Prince and State are made. St. *Paul* in the ſame Place ſaith, *Hate that which is evil, cleave unto that which is good:* Then with St. *Paul*, I do adviſe you all here preſent, yea, and heartily and earneſtly deſire you from the Bottom of your Hearts, to hate all Meſſengers, Tale-Carriers, or any other Thing whatſoever it be that any manner of way infringes the Liberties of this Honourable Council; yea, hate it or them as venemous and Poiſon unto our Common-Wealth, for they are venemous Beaſts that do uſe it; therefore I ſay again and again, *Hate that which is evil, and cleave unto that which is good*; and this, being loving and faithful hearted, I do wiſh to be conceived in Fear of God, and of Love to our Prince and State; for we are incorporated into this Place, to ſerve God and all *England*, and not to be Time-Servers, as Humour-feeders, as Cancers that would pierce the Bone, or as Flatterers that would fain beguile all the World, and ſo worthy to be condemned both of God and Man; but let us ſhew ourſelves a People endued with Faith, I mean with a lively Faith, that bringeth forth good Works, and not as dead. And theſe good Works I wiſh to break forth in this Sort, not only in hating the Enemies before-ſpoken againſt, but alſo in open reproving them as Enemies to God, our Prince and State that do uſe them, for they are ſo. Therefore I would have none ſpared or forborn that ſhall from henceforth offend herein, of what Calling ſoever he be, for the higher Place he hath, the more Harm he may do; therefore if he will not eſchew Offences, the higher I wiſh him hanged. I ſpeak this in Charity, Mr. Speaker, for it is bet-

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

ter that one ſhould be hanged, than that this Noble State ſhould be ſubverted; well, I pray God with all my Heart, to turn the Hearts of all the Enemies of our Prince and State, and to forgive them that wherein they have offended, yea, and to give them Grace to offend therein no more; even ſo I do heartily beſeech God to forgive us for holding our Peace when we have heard any Injury offered to this Honourable Council; for ſurely it is no ſmall Offence, Mr. Speaker, for we offend therein againſt God, our Prince and State, and abuſe the Confidence by them repoſed in us. Wherefore God for his great Mercies Sake, grant that we may from henceforth ſhew ourſelves neither Baſtards nor Daſtards therein, but that, as rightly-begotten Children, we may ſharply and boldly reprove God's Enemies, our Prince's, and State's; and ſo ſhall every one of us diſcharge our Duties in this our High-Office, wherein he hath placed us, and ſhew ourſelves Haters of Evil, and Cleavers to that that is good, to the ſetting forth of God's Glory and Honour, and to the Preſervation of our Noble Queen and Common-Wealth; for theſe are the Marks that we ought only in this Place to ſhoot at. I am thus earneſt, I take God to witneſs, for Conſcience Sake, Love unto my Prince and Common-Wealth, and for the Advancement of Juſtice; for *Juſtice*, ſaith an Antient Father, *is the Prince of all Virtues, yea, the ſafe and faithful Guard of Man's Life, for by it Empires, Kingdoms, People, and Cities be governed, the which if it be taken away, the Society of Man cannot long endure.* And *a King*, ſaith Solomon, *that ſitteth in the Throne of Judgment, and looketh well about him, chaſeth away all Evil:* In the which State and Throne, God for his great Mercies Sake grant that our Noble Queen may be heartily vigilant and watchful; for ſurely there was a great Fault committed both in the laſt Parliament, and ſince alſo that was, as faithful Hearts as any were unto the Prince and State, received

moſt

most Displeasure, the which is but an hard Point in Policy, to encourage the Enemy, to discourage the faithful-hearted, who of fervent Love cannot dissemble, but follow the Rule of St. *Paul*, who saith, *Let Love be without Dissimulation.* Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Now to another great Fault I found the last Parliament, committed by some of this House also, the which, I would desire of them all, might be left; I have seen right good Men in other Causes, although I did dislike them in that Doing, sit in an evil Matter against which they had most earnestly spoken: I mused at it, and asked what it meant, for I do think it a shameful Thing to serve God, their Prince or Country, with the Tongue only, and not with the Heart and Body. I was answered that it was a common Policy in this House, to mark the best Sort of the same, and either to sit or arise with them; that same common Policy, I would gladly have banished this House, and have grafted in the Stead thereof either to rise or sit as the Matter giveth Cause: *For the Eyes of the Lord behold all the Earth, to strengthen all the Hearts of them that are whole with him.* These be God's own Words, mark them well, I heartily beseech you all; for God will not receive Half-part, he will have the Whole. And again, he misliked these two-faced Gentlemen, and here be many Eyes that will to their great Shame behold their double Dealing that use it. Thus I have holden you long with my rude Speech; the which since it tendeth wholly with pure Conscience to seek the Advancement of God's Glory, our Honourable Sovereign's Safety, and to the sure Defence of this noble Isle of *England*, and all by maintaining of the Liberties of this Honourable Council, the Fountain from whence all these do spring; my humble and hearty Suit unto you all is, to accept my Good Will, and that this that I have here spoken out of Conscience and great Zeal unto my Prince and State may not be buried in the Pit of Oblivion, and so no Good come thereof.'

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Upon this Speech, the Houſe out of a reverent Regard of her Majeſty's Honour, ſtopped his further Proceeding before he had fully finiſhed. The Meſſage Mr. *Wentworth* meant and intended was that which was ſent by her Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, in the Fourteenth Year of her Reign, upon the 28th Day of *May*, by Sir *Francis Knolles* Kt. inhibiting them, for a certain Time to treat or deal in the Matter touching the *Scottiſh* Queen.'

Mr. Wentworth ſequeſtred from the Houſe, for his Speech.

'Mr. *Wentworth* being ſequeſtred the Houſe for his ſaid Speech, it was agreed and ordered by the Houſe upon the Queſtion (after ſundry Motions and Diſputations had therein) that he ſhould be preſently committed to the Serjeant's Ward as Priſoner; and ſo remaining, ſhould be examined upon his ſaid Speech, for the extenuating of his Fault therein, by a Committee conſiſting of all the Privy-Council being of this Houſe, and other Members.

Next follows Mr. *Wentworth*'s own Account of his Examination, before the Committee, as follows:

A Committee appointed to examine him thereupon.

Committee. 'WHERE is your late Speech you promiſed 'to deliver in Writing?'

Wentworth. 'Here it is, and I deliver it upon 'two Conditions: The firſt is, That you ſhall 'peruſe it all, and if you can find any Want of 'Good-Will to my Prince and State in any Part 'thereof, let me anſwer all as if I had uttered all. 'The ſecond is, That you ſhall deliver it unto the 'Queen's Majeſty; if her Majeſty, or you of her 'Privy-Council, can find any Want of Love to 'her Majeſty, or the State therein alſo; let me anſwer it?'

Com. 'We will deal with no more than you 'uttered in the Houſe.'

Went. 'Your Honours cannot refuſe to deliver 'it to her Majeſty, for I do ſend it to her Majeſty

'as

'as my Heart and Mind, knowing it will do her Queen Elizabeth.
'Majesty good; it will hurt no Man but myself.' 1575.

'*Com.* 'Seeing your Desire is to have us deliver
'it to her Majesty; we will deliver it.'

Went. 'I humbly require your Honours so to
'do.

Then the Speech being read, they said,

Com. 'Here you have uttered certain Rumours
'of the Queen's Majesty: Where and of whom
'heard you them?'

Went. 'If your Honours ask me as Counsellors
'to her Majesty, you shall pardon me; I will
'make you no Answer: I will do no such Injury
'to the Place from whence I came; for I am
'now no private Person, I am a publick, and a
'Counsellor to the whole State, in that Place,
'where it is lawful for me to speak my Mind free-
'ly; and not for you, as Counsellors, to call me to
'Account for any thing that I do speak in the
'House; and therefore if you ask me as Counsel-
'lors to her Majesty, you shall pardon me, I will
'make no Answer, but if you ask me as Commit-
'tees from the House, I will make you the best
'Answer I can.'

Com. 'We ask you as Committees from the
'House.'

Went. 'I will then answer you; and the wil-
'linger for that mine Answer will be in some Part
'so imperfect as of Necessity it must be. Your
'Question consisteth of these two Points, Where
'and of whom I heard these Rumours? The
'Place where I heard them was the Parliament-
'House; but of whom, I assure you, I cannot
'tell.'

Com. 'This is no Answer to say, you cannot
'tell of whom, neither will we take it for any.'

Went. 'Truly your Honours must needs take
'it for an Answer, when I can make you no
'better.'

Com. 'Belike you have heard some Speeches
'in the Town, of her Majesty's misliking of Re-
'ligion

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'ligion and Succeſſion; you are loth to utter of 'whom, and did uſe Speeches thereupon.'

Went. 'I aſſure your Honours I can ſhew you 'that Speech at my own Houſe, written with my 'Hand two or three Years ago. So that you may 'thereby judge, that I did not ſpeake it of any 'thing that I heard ſince I came to Town.'

Com. 'You have anſwered that, but where 'heard you it then?'

Went. 'If your Honours do think I ſpeak for 'Excuſe-Sake, let this ſatisfy you: I proteſt be-'fore the living God I cannot tell of whom I heard 'theſe Rumours; yet I do verily think that I heard 'them of a hundred or two in the Houſe.

Com. 'Then of ſo many you can name ſome.'

Went. 'No ſurely, becauſe it was ſo general a 'Speech, I marked none; neither do Men mark 'Speakers commonly when they be general: And 'I aſſure you if I could tell, I would not. For I 'will never utter any thing told me, to the Hurt of 'any Man, when I am not enforced thereunto, 'as in this Caſe I may chuſe. Yet I would deal 'plainly with you, for I would tell your Honours 'ſo, and if your Honours do not credit me, I will 'voluntarily take an Oath, if you offer me a Book, 'that I cannot tell of whom I heard thoſe Ru-'mours. But if you offer me an Oath of your 'Authorities, I will refuſe it; becauſe I will do 'nothing to infringe the Liberties of the Houſe. 'But what need I to uſe theſe Speeches? I will give 'you an Inſtance, whereupon I heard theſe Ru-'mours to your Satisfying, even ſuch a one, as if 'you will ſpeak the Truth, you ſhall confeſs, that 'you heard the ſame as well as I.

Com. 'In ſo doing we will be ſatisfied: What 'is that?

Went. 'The laſt Parliament [by which it may 'be conceived he meant and intended that Parlia-'ment in *An.* 13 *Reginæ Eliz.*] he that is now 'Speaker [*viz. Robert Bell*, Eſq; who was alſo 'Speaker in the firſt Seſſion of this preſent Parlia-'ment in *An.* 14 *Reginæ ejuſdem*] uttered a very

good

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'good Speech for the calling in of certain Licences granted to four Courtiers, to the utter Undoing of six or eight thousand of the Queen's Majesty's Subjects. This Speech was so disliked of some of the Council, that he was sent for; and so hardly dealt with, that he came into the House with such an amazed Countenance, that it daunted all the House in such Sort, that for ten, twelve, or sixteen Days, there was not one in the House that durst deal in any Matter of Importance. And in those simple Matters that they dealt in, they spent more Words and Time in their Preamble, requiring that they might not be mistaken, than they did in the Matter they spake unto. This Inconvenience grew unto the House by the Councils hard handling of the said good Member, whereupon this Rumour grew in the House. *Sirs, you may not speak against Licences, the Queen's Majesty will be angry, the Privy-Council too will be angry*; and this Rumour I suppose there is not one of you here but heard it as well as I. I beseech your Honours discharge your Consciences herein as I do.'

Com. 'We heard it we confess, and you have satisfied us in this; But how say you to the hard Interpretation you made of the Message that was sent into the House?' [The Words were recited.] 'We assure you We never heard a harder Interpretation of a Message.'

Went. 'I beseech your Honours, first, was there not such a Message sent unto the House?'

Com. 'We grant that there was.'

Went. 'Then I trust you will bear me Record that I made it not; and I answer you that so hard a Message could not have too hard an Interpretation made by the wisest Man in *England*. For, can there by any possible Means be sent a harder Message to a Council gathered together to serve God, than to say, You shall not seek to advance the Glory of God? I am of this Opinion that there cannot be a more wicked Message than it was.'

Com.

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

Com. 'You may not speak against Messages, 'for none sendeth them but the Queen's Majesty.

Went. 'If the Message be against the Glory of 'God, against the Prince's Safety, or against the 'Liberty of this Parliament-House whereby the 'State is maintained, I neither may nor will hold 'my Peace, (I cannot in so doing discharge my 'Conscience) whosoever doth send it. And I say, 'that I heartily repent me, for that I have hither-'to held my Peace in these Causes; and I do pro-'mise you all, if God forsake me not, that I will 'never, during Life, hold my Tongue, if any 'Message is sent, wherein God is dishonoured, the 'Prince perilled, or the Liberties of the Parlia-'ment impeached; and every one of you here 'present ought to repent you of these Faults, and 'to amend them.

Com. 'It is no new Precedent to have the 'Prince to send Messages.'

[Then were two or three Messages recited, sent by two or three Princes.]

Went. 'Sirs, said I, you do very evil to alledge 'Precedents in this Order. You ought to alledge 'good Precedents to comfort and embolden Men 'in Good Doing, and evil Precedents to discou-'rage and terrify Men to do Evil.'

Com. 'But what meant you to make so hard 'Interpretation of Messages?'

Went. 'Surely I marvel what you mean by 'asking this Question. Have I not said, so hard a 'Message could not have too hard an Interpreta-'tion; and have I not set down the Reason that 'moved me in my Speech, that is to say, that for 'the Receiving and Accepting that Message, God 'has poured so great Indignation upon us, that he 'put into the Queen's Majesty's Heart to refuse 'good and wholesome Laws for her own Prefer-'vation; which caused many loving and faithful 'Hearts, for Grief, to burst out with sorrowful 'Tears; and moved all Papists, Traitors to God, 'to her Majesty, and to every good Christian Go-'vernment, in their Sleeves to laugh the whole

'Par-

'Parliament-Houſe to ſcorn. Have I not thus ſaid? and do not your Honours think it did ſo?' Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

Com. 'Yes truly. But how durſt you ſay 'that the Queen's Majeſty had unkindly abuſed 'herſelf againſt the Nobility and People?'

Went. 'I beſeech your Honours, tell me how 'far you can ſtretch theſe Words of her unkind-'ly abuſing and oppoſing herſelf againſt her Ma-'jeſty's Nobility and People? Can you apply 'them any further than I have applied them, that 'is to ſay, in that her Majeſty called the Parlia-'ment of purpoſe to prevent traiterous Perils to her 'Perſon, and for no other Cauſe; and in that her 'Majeſty did ſend unto us two Bills, willing us to 'take our Choice of that we liked beſt for her Ma-'jeſty's Safety, and thereof to make a Law promi-'ſing her Royal Conſent thereunto; and did we 'not firſt chuſe the one, and her Majeſty refuſed 'it? yet did not we nevertheleſs receive the o-'ther? and agreeing to make a Law thereof, did 'not her Majeſty, in the End, refuſe all our Tra-'vels? And did not the Lord-Keeper, in her 'Majeſty's Preſence, in the Beginning of the Par-'liament, ſhew this to be the Occaſion that we 'were called together? And did not her Majeſty 'in the End of the Parliament, refuſe all our Tra-'vels? Is not this known to all here preſent, and 'to all the Parliament-Houſe alſo? I beſeech 'your Honours diſcharge your Conſciences herein, 'and utter your Knowledge ſimply as I do; for in 'Truth herein her Majeſty did abuſe her Nobility 'and Subjects, and did oppoſe herſelf againſt them 'by the Way of Advice.'

Com. 'Surely we cannot deny it; you ſay 'the Truth.'

Went. 'Then I beſeech your Honours ſhew 'me if it were not a dangerous Doing to her Ma-'jeſty in theſe two Reſpects. Firſt, in weakening, 'wounding, and diſcouraging the Hearts of her 'Majeſty's loving and faithful Subjects, thereby to 'make them the leſs able or the more fearful and 'unwilling to ſerve her Majeſty, another Time.

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. 'On the other Side, was it not a Raiſing-up and 'Encouraging the Hearts of her Majeſty's hateful 'Enemies to adventure any deſperate Enterprize to 'her Majeſty's Peril and Danger?'

Com. 'We cannot deny but that it was very 'dangerous to her Majeſty in thoſe Reſpects.'

Went. 'Then why do your Honours ask how 'I dare tell a Truth, to give the Queen's Majeſty 'Warning to avoid her Danger?'

'I anſwer you thus, I do thank the Lord my 'God, that I never found Fear in myſelf to give 'the Queen's Majeſty Warning to avoid her Dan-'ger; be you all afraid thereof if you will, for I 'praiſe God I am not, and I hope never to live to 'ſee that Day; and yet I will aſſure your Ho-'nour, that twenty Times and more, when I 'walked in my Grounds revolving this Speech to 'prepare againſt this Day, my own fearful Conceit 'did ſay unto me, That this Speech would carry 'me to the Place whither I ſhall now go, and 'Fear would have moved me to have put it out: 'then I weighed whether in good Conſcience, and 'the Duty of a faithful Subject, I might keeep my-'ſelf out of Priſon, and not to warn my Prince from 'walking in a dangerous Courſe; my Conſcience 'ſaid unto me, That I could not be a faithful Sub-'ject, if I did more reſpect to avoid my own Dan-'ger than my Prince's Danger. Herewithal I 'was made bold, and went forward as your Ho-'nours heard; yet when I uttered thoſe Words in 'the Houſe, That there was none without Fault 'no not our noble Queen; I pauſed and beheld all 'your Countenances, and ſaw plainly that thoſe 'Words did amaze you all; then I was afraid 'with you for company, and Fear bade me to put 'out thoſe Words that followed, for your Counte-'nances did aſſure me, that not one of you would 'ſtay me of my Journey; yet the Conſideration 'of a good Conſcience, and of a faithful Subject, 'did make me bold to utter it in ſuch Sort as your 'Honours heard; with this Heart and Mind I ſpake 'it, and I praiſe God for it, and if it were to do

'again

'again I would with the ſame Mind ſpeak it again. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

Com. 'Yea, but you might have uttered it in 'better Terms; Why did you not ſo?'

Went. 'Would you have me to have done as 'you of her Majeſty's Privy-Council do, to utter 'a weighty Matter in ſuch Terms as ſhe ſhould 'not have underſtood? To have made a Fault, then 'it would have done her Majeſty no good, and 'my Intent was to do her good.'

Com. 'You have anſwered us.'

Went. 'Then I praiſe God for it; and, as I 'made a Courteſie, Mr. *Seckford* ſpake theſe Words.

Com. 'Mr. *Wentworth* will never acknowledge 'himſelf to make a Fault, nor ſay, that he is ſorry 'for any Thing that he doth ſpeak; you ſhall 'hear none of theſe Things come out of his 'Mouth.'

Went. 'Mr. *Seckford*, I will never confeſs that 'to be a Fault, to love the Queen's Majeſty, while 'I live; neither will I be ſorry for giving her Ma-'jeſty Warning, to avoid Danger, while the 'Breath is in my Body: If you do think it a Fault 'to love her Majeſty, or to be ſorry that her Ma-'jeſty ſhould have Warning to avoid her Danger, 'ſay ſo; for I cannot. Speak for yourſelf, Mr. '*Seckford.*'

'The next Day Mr. Treaſurer, in the Name of the Committee Yeſterday appointed for the Examination of *Peter Wentworth*, Burgeſs for *Tregony*, declared, That the ſaid Committee did meet Yeſterday in the Afternoon, in the Star-Chamber, according to their Commiſſion; and there examining the ſaid *Peter Wentworth*, concerning the violent and wicked Words, Yeſterday pronounced by him, in this Houſe, touching the Queen's Majeſty, made a Collection of the ſame Words; which Words ſo collected, the ſaid *Peter Wentworth* did acknowledge and confeſs. And then did the ſaid Mr. Treaſurer read unto the Houſe the ſaid Note of Collection; which being read, he declared further, That the ſaid *Peter Wentworth* being examined, what

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. what he could say for the Extenuating of his said Fault and Offence, could neither say any thing at all to that Purpose, neither yet did charge any other Person as Author of his said Speech, but did take all the Burthen thereof unto himself.——And the said Mr. Treasurer thereupon moved for his Punishment, and Imprisonment in the *Tower*, as the House should think good and consider of: Whereupon, after sundry Disputations and Speeches, it was ordered, upon the Question, that the said *Peter Wentworth* should be committed Close Prisoner to the *Tower*, for his Offence, there to remain until such Time as this House should have further Consideration of him. And thereupon immediately the said *Peter Wentworth*, being brought to the Bar by the Serjeant, received his said Judgment accordingly, by the Mouth of Mr. Speaker, in Form above recited. And so Mr. Lieutenant of the *Tower* was presently charged with the Custody of the said *Peter Wentworth*.'

Mr. Wentworth committed to the Tower.

The Affair of his Enlargement from the *Tower*, will appear in the Sequel.

The same Day, *Feb.* 9th, the House came to this Resolution, 'That if any Person, being a 'Member of the same, was employed in the 'Service of Embassage, or in Execution, or visited 'with Sickness, he shall not lose his Seat in the 'House, nor any other be elected for it, during 'such Time of Service, Execution, or Sickness.' Also, the Lord *Russel*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Bedford*, Burgess for *Bridport*, in the County of *Dorset*, was ordered to continue a Member of that House; notwithstanding the new-acquired Earldom of his Father.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the Motion for a Grant of a Subsidy to her Majesty, spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

Sir Walter Mildmay's Speech for a Subsidy.

'THAT in the Beginning of this our Meeting 'such Matters as be of Importance may be 'thought on in Time, I am bold with your Favours 'to move you of one that, in my Opinion, is both

'of

'of Moment and of Neceſſity. To the End, if Queen Elizabeth.
'you likewiſe find the ſame to be ſo, you may 1575.
'commit it further to the Conſideration of ſuch
'as you ſhall think convenient.

'And that you may the better judge of that
'which I ſhall propound, it is requiſite that I put
'you in Remembrance, Firſt, how the Queen
'found the Realm; next, how ſhe hath reſtored
'and conſerved it; and, Thirdly, how we ſtand
'now. Touching the firſt, no Man can be igno-
'rant how that our moſt gracious Queen, at her
'Entering, found this noble Realm, by reaſon of
'the evil Government preceding, miſerably over-
'whelmed with Popery, dangerouſly afflicted with
'War, and grievouſly loaded with Debts; the
'Burthen of which Three cannot be remembred
'without Grief, eſpecially if we call to Mind how
'this Kingdom, being utterly delivered from the
'uſurped Tyranny of *Rome*, and that many Years
'together; was, nevertheleſs, by the Iniquity of
'later Time, brought back again into the former
'Captivity, to the great Thraldom both of Body
'and Soul of all the People of this Land. A
'wretched Time, and wretched Miniſters, to bring
'to paſs ſo wretched and wicked an Act to
'ſtrengthen this Bondage of *Rome*. We ſaw how
'there was brought hither a ſtrong Nation to preſs
'our Necks again into the Yoke; terrible this
'was to all the Inhabitants of this Land, and ſo
'would have proved, if their Abode had been
'here ſo long as was to be feared from them;
'for by their Occaſion came the War that we
'entered into with *France* and *Scotland*, and not
'upon any Quarrel of our own; but to help them
'forward to their great Advantage, and our great
'Loſs and Shame; by Means whereof, and of
'other Diſorders, the Realm grew into great Debt
'both at Home and Abroad, and ſo was left, to
'the intolerable Loſs and Charge of her Majeſty
'and the State. The Realm being thus miſera-
'bly oppreſſed with Popery, with War, and with
'Debts, the Queen, our moſt gracious Sovereign,

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'hath thus restored and conserved it; she hath 'delivered us from the tyrannous Yoke of *Rome*, 'and restored again the most Holy Religion of the 'Gospel, not slacking any Time therein; but 'even, at the first, doing that which was for the 'Honour of God, to the unspeakeable Joy of all 'good Subjects.

'But adventuring thereby the Malice of the 'mighty Princes of the World, her Neighbours 'being Enemies of our Religion; whereby it did 'appear, how much she preferred the Glory of 'our God before her own Quietness: This done 'she made Peace with *France* and *Scotland*, the 'one a mighty Nation, the other, though not so 'potent, yet in regard of their Nearness and of 'their Habitation with us upon our Continent, 'more dangerous: Which may easily appear by 'Consideration of former Times, wherein it hath 'been seen how dangerous *Scottish* Wars have 'proved to this Realm above those of any other 'Nation. But such hath been the Providence of 'our gracious Queen, as the Peace with *Scot-* 'land, which, in Times past was found very 'tickle, is now become so firm as in no Age there 'hath been so long and so good Peace between 'them and us.

'And that is brought to pass the rather for that 'her Majesty, by two notable Exploits with her 'Forces, the one to *Leith*, and another to *Edin-* 'burgh-Castle, hath both quieted that Realm, and 'taken away all Occasions of Hostility that might 'arise against this Country; also by the first deli- 'vering *Scotland* from the *French* which had so 'great a Footing there, as, without Aid from 'hence they must needs in short Time have tyran- 'nized over that Country to their prepetual Servi- 'tude, and to the Peril also of this Country, be- 'ing so near them, and they so ill Neighbours to 'dwell by. And by the second, ending and put- 'ting out the Fire of the Civil Wars amongst them, 'to the Preservation of their young King, and the 'perpetual Quietness of that Realm, both which

'as

'as they have brought unto her Majesty great and immortal Honour and Renown, and to this Country and that, Peace and Surety: So you cannot but think therewith upon the Charges which necessarily follow two such Journeys furnished by Land and Sea, as for the atchieving of so great Enterprizes was requisite. What her Majesty hath done besides, for the Suppressing a dangerous and unnatural Rebellion practised by the Pope, the most principal and malicious Enemy of this State, and put in Ure by certain undutiful Subjects in the North Parts of this Realm, was seen so late, even in your View, as it needeth not to be remembred; neither the Charge that belongeth to a Matter of such Importance, as did threaten the utter Ruin to our most gracious Sovereign, and to all the People of this Land, if God, of his Mercy, had not prevented it. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Notwithstanding all which costly Journeys both into *Scotland* and within the Realm, her Majesty hath most carefully and providently delivered this Kingdom from a great and weighty Debt, wherewith it hath been long burthened. A Debt begun four Years, at least, before the Death of King *Henry* VIII, and not cleared until within these two Years; and all that while running upon Interest; a Course able to eat up not only private Men and their Patrimonies, but also Princes and their Estates; but such hath been the Care of this Time, as Her Majesty and the State is clearly freed from that eating Corrosive; the Truth whereof may be testified by the Citizens of *London*, whose Bonds, under the Common Seal of the City, of Assurance of Payment being usually given and renewed, and which have hanged so many Years to their great Danger, and to the Peril of the whole Traffick, are now all discharged, cancelled, and delivered into the Chamber of *London*, to their own Hands. By Means whereof the Realm is not only acquitted of this great Burthen, and the Merchants free, but also her Majesty's Credit thereby both

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Home and Abroad greater than any other Prince 'for Money, if she have Need; and so in Reason 'it ought to be, for that she hath kept Promise to 'all Men, wherein other Princes have often failed 'to the Hindrance of many. Lastly, for this 'Point how the Justice of this Realm is preserved 'and ministred to her People, by her Majesty's 'Political and just Government, is so well known 'to all Men, as our Enemies are driven to confess 'that Justice, which is the Band of all Common-'Wealths, doth so tie and link together all De-'grees of Persons within this Land, as there is 'suffered here no Violence, no Oppression, no 'Respect of Persons in Judgment; but *Jus equa-'bile* used to all indifferently. All which godly, 'provident and wise Acts in Government, have 'brought forth these Effects that we be in Peace, 'and all our Neighbours in War; that we be in 'Quietness at Home, and safe enough from Trou-'bles Abroad; that we live in Wealth and all 'Prosperity, and that which is the greatest, we 'enjoy the Freedom of our Consciences delivered 'from the Bondage of *Rome*, wherewith we were 'so lately oppressed. And thus we stand.

'But, for all this, as wise Mariners in calm Wea-'ther do most diligently prepare their Tackles, 'and provide to withstand Attempts that may hap-'pen: Even so in this our blessed Time of Peace 'that we enjoy, by the Blessing of God, through 'the Ministry of her Majesty, we ought in Time 'to make Provision to prevent any Storm that 'may arise either here or Abroad; and neither to 'be too careless or negligent, but think that the 'Tail of these Storms, which are so bitter and so 'boisterous in other Countries may reach us also 'before they be ended; especially if we do not for-'get the Hatred that is borne us by the Adversary 'of our Religion both for our Profession, and for 'that this Realm is also a merciful Sanctuary for 'such poor Christians as fly hither for Succour; 'so as now one of the most principal Cares that 'we ought to take in this great Council of the

'Realm

'Realm is both to consider aforehand the Dangers 'that may come by the Malice of Enemies, and 'to provide in Time how to resist them; and 'seeing that by those great Occasions which I have 'remembred, you can easily understand how low 'her Majesty's Coffers are brought, it is our Parts 'frankly and willingly to offer unto her Majesty 'such a Contribution as shall be able to restore the 'same again, in such Sort as she may be sufficiently 'furnished of Treasure to put in Order, and main-'tain her Forces by Land and Sea, to answer any 'Thing that shall be attempted against her and 'us: And lest it might seem strange to some 'that her Majesty should want this, some consi-'dering that not long sithence Aid was granted by 'the Realm: To that I answer, That albeit her 'Majesty is not to yield an Account how she 'spendeth her Treasure; yet, for your Satisfac-'tions, I will let you understand such Things as 'are very true, and which I dare affirm, having 'more Knowledge thereof than some other, in 'respect of the Place I hold in her Majesty's 'Service. Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

'First, how favourable the Taxations of Subsi-'dies be through the whole Realm cannot be un-'known to any; whereby far less cometh to her 'Majesty's Coffers than by the Law is granted, a 'Matter now drawn to be so usual as it is hard to 'be reformed. Next, the Clearing of all Debts 'that run upon Interest, to the insupportable 'Charge of the Realm. Thirdly, the Charge in 'Suppressing the Rebellion in the North. Fourth-'ly, the free and honourable Repayment of the 'last Loans, the like whereof was not seen before. 'Fifthly, the Journey to *Edinburgh*-Castle for the 'quieting of that Country and this. And, Lastly, 'the great and continual Charges in *Ireland*, by the 'evil Disposition of the People there; all which 'could not have been performed by the last Aid, 'except it had pleased her Majesty to spare, out of 'her own Revenues, great Sums of Money for the 'supplying of that which lacked, wherein she

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'more respected the Realm than her own particular Estate; living, as you see, in most temperate 'Manner, without either Building or other superfluous Things of Pleasure; and like as these be 'Causes sufficient to move you to devise how these 'Wants may be repaired, so you ought the rather 'to do it, for that her Majesty lacketh and cannot 'have, without great Inconvenience, those Helps, 'which, in the Times of her Father, her Brother 'and Sister, were used; as the Abasing of Coin, 'which brought infinite Sums to them, but wrought 'great Damage to the Realm, which we yet feel; 'and should do more, had not her Majesty, to her 'perpetual Fame, restored the same again, so 'much as the Time could suffer. The Sale of 'Lands, whereof came also very great Sums of 'Money, but that is not hereafter to be used; saving that by the same the Revenues of the Crown 'are greatly diminished, which it cannot more bear, 'the Borrowing of Money upon Interest, the Burthen whereof the Realm hath felt so heavy, as that 'is never more to be done, if, by any Means, it may 'be avoided. And yet, notwithstanding all those 'Helps, it is apparent that Subsidies were continually 'granted in those Times; if so then, much more so 'now. Besides War and other extraordinary Charges 'which may happen, her Majesty's very ordinary 'Charges, which she cannot but sustain, are far 'greater, by Dearth of Princes and other Occasions, 'than in any other Prince's Days; as you may see 'by the ordinary and annual Charges of the House-'hold, the Navy, the Ordnance, the Armory, 'the Garrison of *Berwick*, the standing Garrison 'and Officers within the Realm of *Ireland*. And 'whether these are like to be more costly to her 'Majesty than in former Times, in respect of the 'Prices of all Things, let every Man judge by the 'Experience he hath of his private Expences.

And so to draw to an End for avoiding of your 'Trouble. I trust these few Things may suffice 'to remember us how her Majesty found the 'Realm, how she hath restored and preserved it, 'and

'and how the preſent State is now; and therewith all may ſerve as Reaſons ſufficient to perſuade us 'to deal in this neceſſary Cauſe, as her Majeſty, 'being the Head of the Commonwealth, be not 'unfurniſhed of that which will be ſufficient to 'maintain both herſelf and us againſt the private or 'open Malice of Enemies; wherein let us ſo pro-'ceed as her Majeſty may find how much we think 'ourſelves bound to God, that hath given us ſo gra-'cious a Queen over us; and ſhew thereby alſo ſuch 'Gratitude towards her, as ſhe may perform the 'Courſe of her Government *cum Alacritate*.' Queen Elizabeth 1575.

This Speech ended, a Committee was immediately appointed to draw up a Bill for a Subſidy.

On the 12th Day of *March*, *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Eſq. now Captain of the Band of Penſioners, but afterwards Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, ſtood up and reported to the Houſe, 'That where-'as a Member of the ſame, on the firſt Day of this 'Seſſion, *Feb.* 8th, had, in a ſet Speech, uttered 'divers offenſive Matters againſt her Majeſty, and, 'for the ſame, had been committed Priſoner to the '*Tower*, by that Houſe; Yet her Majeſty, was 'graciouſly, pleaſed to remit her juſtly occaſioned 'Diſpleaſure for the ſaid Offence; and to refer the 'Enlargement of the Party to the Houſe.' Which Meſſage was moſt thankfully accepted of by the whole Houſe. The Queen's Meſſage for Mr. Wentworth's Diſcharge.

Afterwards, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, roſe up and ſpoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

'I Think that by this whole Action, and by her 'Majeſty's Dealing in this Cauſe, we had juſt 'Occaſion to conſider theſe three Things: Sir Walter Mildmay's Speech thereupon.

'I. Her Majeſty's good and clement Nature.

'II. Her Reſpect to us. And,

'III. Our Duty towards her.

'Touching the Firſt, That Sovereign Princes, 'placed by God, are to be honoured with all hum-'ble and dutiful Reverence, both in Word and 'Deed, eſpecially if they be good and virtuous, ſuch 'as our moſt gracious Sovereign is; a Princeſs that

Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'hath governed this Realm so many Years, so 'quietly, so justly and providently; which being 'true, as no Man can deny, then see how great an 'Offence this was, to prove so good and gracious 'a Queen so unjustly, and that to be done not by 'any common Person abroad, but by a Member of 'this House; and not in any private or secret 'Place, but openly in this most honourable Assem-'bly of the Parliament, being the highest Court 'and Council of the Realm. And thereby see al-'so her most gracious and good Nature, that so 'mercifully and so easily can remit so great an Of-'fence; a Thing rarely found in Princes of so great 'Estate, that use commonly to think themselves 'touched in Honour, if they should pass over smal-'ler Injuries so lightly. The greater is her Ma-'jesty's Commendation; and the more are we 'bound to thank God for her.

'Secondly, We may see what gracious Respect 'her Majesty had to us, that notwithstanding the 'just Cause that was given her to punish severally so 'great an Offence; yet the Favour that she had 'conceived towards us, proceeding from the just 'Trial of our dutiful Affections towards her, had so 'qualified her Displeasure, as she was contented, 'for our Sakes, to pardon the whole; and that so 'freely, as she would, at any Time, think of it 'again, for those were her Words; a marvellous 'Grace towards us, and never hereafter, on our 'Parts to be forgotten; the rather for that the same 'proceeded merely from herself, thereby preven-'ting the Suit, which we, in all Humbleness, 'might have made unto her.

'Thirdly, That for so gracious a Dealing, it 'was, our bounden Duties to yield unto her Maje-'sty our most humble and hearty Thanks, and to 'beseech Almighty God to enlarge her Days as 'the only Stay of our Felicity; and not only so, 'but to learn also, by this Example, how to behave 'ourselves hereafter; and not under the Pretence 'of Liberty to forget our bounden Duty to so gra-'cious a Queen: True it is, that nothing can be

'well

Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

'well concluded in a Council where there is not allowed, in debating of Cauſes brought in, Deliberation, Liberty, and Freedom of Speech; otherwiſe, if in Conſultation Men be either interrupted, or terrified, ſo as they cannot, nor dare not ſpeak their Opinions freely, like as that Council cannot but be reputed for a ſervile Council; even ſo all the Proceedings therein ſhall be rather to ſatisfie the Wills of a few, than to determine that which ſhall be juſt and reaſonable. But herein we may not forget to put a Difference between Liberty of Speech, and licentious Speech; for by the one Men deliver their Opinions freely, and with this Caution, That all be ſpoken pertinently, modeſtly, reverently, and diſcreetly; the other contrariwiſe uttereth all impertinently, raſhly, arrogantly and irreverently, without Reſpect of Perſon, Time, or Place: And tho' Freedom of Speech hath always been uſed in this Great Council of Parliament, and is a Thing moſt neceſſary to be preſerved amongſt us; yet the ſame was never, not ought to be, extended ſo far, as though a Man in this Houſe may ſpeak what and of whom he liſt. The contrary whereof, both in our own Days and in the Days of our Predeceſſors, by the Puniſhment of ſuch inconſiderate and diſorderly Speakers, hath appeared. And ſo to return, let this ſerve us for an Example, to beware that we offend not in the like hereafter, leſt that in forgetting our Duties ſo far, we may give juſt Cauſe to our gracious Sovereign to think that this her Clemency hath given Occaſion of further Boldneſs; and thereby ſo much grieve and provoke her, as contrary to her moſt gracious and mild Conſideration, ſhe be conſtrained to change her natural Clemency into neceſſary and juſt Severity; a Thing that I truſt ſhall never happen amongſt wiſe and dutiful Men, ſuch as the Members of this Houſe are thought always to be.'

A Motion had been made in the Houſe of Commons this Seſſion, on the old Topic of preſſing the

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. Queen to marry; but the House did not think proper to venture another Petition on it, but agreed, that at the Conclusion of the Session, the Speaker should move her Majesty about it. Accordingly, on *May* 14th, we are told, that in the Afternoon the Queen came to the House of Lords, where their Speaker, *Robert Bell*, Esq; presented the Bill of one *Subsidy*, and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. The Particulars of which, being omitted by the Clerk, are supplied by Sir *Symonds D'Ewes*; who tells us, 'That the Speaker's Speech was to the following Effect:

The Speaker recommends it to the Queen to marry.

'*First*, 'He spoke touching sundry Kinds of Government, which, had been in this Kingdom; and so drew his Discourse to the present Time. Then he made a large Enumeration of her Majesty's many Virtues, and of the many Benefits which the Kingdom received by her gracious Government. After which he proceeded humbly to petition her Majesty, to make the Kingdom further happy in her Marriage, that so they might hope for a continual Succession of those Benefits in her Posterity. To which, having added a compendious Relation of such Acts as had passed the House of Commons, he concluded with the Presentation of the Bill of Subsidy, in their Names, unto her Majesty.'

After which, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Commandment, answered as followeth:

The Lord Chancellor's Speech at the Close of the Session.

'*Mr. Speaker*,

'THE Queen's Majesty, our most Dread and Gracious Sovereign Lady, hath heard and doth very well understand your Oration, full of Good-Will and Mattter. The Sum thereof may be reduced into five Parts, whereof the first containeth a Discourse of sundry Kinds of Government, from the Beginning until this Time. The Second, the Commendations of her Majesty's Virtues, and of her great and gracious Government from the Beginning, with a Remembrance of her Highness's bountiful Benefits. The Third,

'con-

Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

'concerning the humble and earneſt Petition moving her Majeſty to marry. The Fourth is a Declaration of Laws paſt in the Lower-Houſe, with 'an humble Suit for her Highneſs's Royal Aſſent to 'be given unto the ſame. The Fifth and laſt 'concerning a Preſentation of the Subſidy granted 'in this Seſſion.

'As concerning the Firſt, which containeth the 'Diſcourſe of ſundry Kinds of Government, I 'ſee not that this Time and Place doth require 'any Anſwer to be given unto it other than this; 'that you, Mr. Speaker, are much to be commended for your diligent Collecting, and alſo for 'the apt Comparing of the laſt Part of the ſame.

'And as to the Second, which concerneth the 'Commendations of her Majeſty's great Virtues 'and good Government, with the Remembrance 'of the manifold Benefits that you have received 'at her Majeſty's Hand, her Highneſs hath commanded me to ſay unto you, that ſhe wiſheth of 'God with all her Heart, that all thoſe Royal 'Virtues and principal Parts, together with the 'great Gifts of gracious Government that you 'make mention of, were ſo perfectly planted in 'her, as beſt might ſerve to the Maintenance of 'God's Glory, from whom her Majeſty confeſſeth 'all Goodneſs to proceed; and beſt alſo might ſerve 'for the good Governance of you her good, loving, and obedient Subjects; and withal, prayeth 'you with her, and for her, to give God hearty 'Thanks for thoſe Virtues and Graces that it hath 'pleaſed him to bleſs her withal; and alſo to pray 'for the Continuance of them with ſuch Increaſe 'as ſhall beſt like his Divine Majeſty. And beſides this, I may, and dare certainly affirm unto 'you, by her Majeſty's own Mouth, that if the 'Virtues of all the Princes in *Europe* were united 'within her Highneſs's Breaſt, ſhe ſhould gladly 'employ the ſame to the beſt of her Power about 'the good Governance of you, that be ſo good 'and loving unto her; ſo great is her Highneſs 'Good-Will and inward Affection toward you.

'Again

Queen Elizabeth's 1575.

'Again true it is, that these your loving and reverend Conceivings of the virtuous and gracious 'Government of your Sovereign, is taken by her 'Majesty in very thankful Part, as a special and 'peculiar Property pertaining to faithful and loving Subjects; neither will her Highness admit of 'any Occasion that may move you to conceive 'otherwise than you have: Neither do I think 'that any Man can devise any more ready, or any 'more strong Persuasion to move a Princely Nature to be such towards her Subjects as they can 'wish, than by such good, reverend and loving 'Conception and Conceiving remembred by you. 'To conclude, as touching this Point, I am to affirm unto you from her Majesty, that she taketh 'your Proceedings in the Parliament, both in the 'Midst, and also in the Ending, so graciously, and 'in so thankful Part, that if both Parts and Nature 'did concur in me abundantly to make me eloquent (as neither of them do) yet I am sure, I 'were not able to set forth this Point according to 'her Highness' Desire, or to the Worthiness of it. 'And for the more manifest Declaration of this, 'and of the great Good-Liking her Majesty hath 'conceived of you that be of this Parliament, her 'Highness meaneth not to determine the same, but 'to prorogue it until the next Winter. And as 'to Cognizance and Recognizance of Benefits, 'her Majesty's Pleasure is, that I should declare 'unto you, that there is none of these Benefits 'received by you, but she wished them treble in 'Number, and quadruple in Greatness and Goodness. And further, her Highness thinketh that 'the faithful Recognizing of Benefits received, is 'one of the greatest Satisfactions that a Subject can 'make to his Sovereign for them. And as to the 'Third, which concerneth your humble earnest 'Petition, it proceedeth from your inward Affections and benevolent Mind, founded upon the 'great good Opinion that you have conceived of 'her Majesty's most gracious Government over 'you, according to the Declaration made by you,

'a Mat-

'a Matter greatly moving her Majesty the rather to allow of your Petition. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'The second Note importeth yet more than this; for therein she conceiveth that this great good Opinion of this happy Government is not conceived by you, as it appeareth by your own Declarations, upon any sudden Ground or Cause, but hath grown upon the Consideration of her Highness's Governance during the Reign of seventeen Years now past: Whereby it is evident, that this is a settled and constant Opinion of yours, and therefore much the more moving her Majesty to give a gracious Ear unto this your Petition.

'And yet the third Note exceedeth the other two former; for in this Note she conceiveth the Abundance of your inward Affection grounded upon her good Governance of you to be so great that it doth not only content you to have her Majesty reign and govern over you, but also you do desire, that Some proceeding from her Majesty's Body might by a perpetual Succession reign over your Posterity also: A Matter greatly to move her Majesty (she saith) to incline to this your Suit. Besides her Highness is not unmindful of all the Benefits that will grow to the Realm by such Marriage; neither doth she forget any Perils that are like to grow for Want thereof. All which Matters considered, her Majesty willed me to say, that albeit of her own natural Disposition she is not disposed or inclined to Marriage, neither could she ever marry were she a private Person; yet for your Sakes and the Benefit of the Realm, she is contented to dispose and incline herself to the Satisfaction of your humble Petition, so that all Things convenient may concur that be meet for such a Marriage; whereof there be very many, some touching the State of her most Royal Person, some touching the Person of him whom God shall join, some touching the State of the whole Realm: These Things concurring and considered, her Majesty

'hath

Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

'hath assented (as is before remembred.) And thus 'much touching this Matter.

'As to the fourth Part, which concerneth a De-'claration of the Laws passed in the Session, where-'unto you do pray that her Majesty would give 'her Royal Assent, her Majesty hath commended 'your Travel and Pains taken in devising of these 'Laws, your Considerations and Carefulness in 'debating and consulting, and your Judgments and 'Determinations in concluding and passing of the 'same; and meaneth to give her Royal Assent to 'so many of them as her Majesty shall think meet 'and convenient to pass at this Time. But here I 'am to remember you, that this is not all that her 'Highness requireth in this Point; for she is desi-'rous that the great Travels, Pains, and great 'Charges employed about the making of these 'Laws should not be lost, neither her Majesty's 'Royal Assent granted in vain; which must needs 'come to pass, except you look better to the Exe-'cution of Laws than heretofore you have done; 'for as I have before this Time said, Laws with-'out Execution, be nothing else but Pen, Ink, and 'Parchment; a Countenance of Things, and no-'thing in Deed; a Cause without an Effect; and 'serve as much to the good Governance of the 'Common-Weal, as the Rudder of a Ship doth 'serve to the good Governance of it without a 'Governor; and so serve to as good Purpose to 'direct Men's Actions, as Torches do to direct 'Men's Goings in the Dark, when their Lights be 'put out. Were it not great Folly, trow ye, yea 'and mere Madness for a Man to provide apt and 'handsome Tools and Instruments to reform and 'prune his Trees withal, and then to lay them up 'in fair Boxes and Bags without Use of them? 'And is it not as strange, trow ye, to make Laws 'to reform Men's Manners, and to prune away 'the ill Branches and Members of the Common-'Weal, and then to lay up those Laws in fair 'Books and Boxes without Execution of them? 'Surely there is a small Difference betwixt these

'Cases;

'Cases; nay, it were much better to have no new Laws made at all, than to have Laws not executed: For the former doth but leave us in the State we were in before the making of the new Laws; but not to execute them, is to breed a Contempt of Laws and Law-makers, and of all Magistrates, which is the Mother and Nurse of Disobedience; and what she breedeth and bringeth forth, I leave to you to judge. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Now this Offence of not executing of Laws growing so great, it resteth to see in whose Default this is, and who ought to have the Burthen of it. First, Certain it is, that her Majesty leaveth nothing undone meet for her to do for the Execution of Laws; for first, she maketh choice of Persons of most Credit and best Understanding throughout the whole Realm, to whom for the great Trust and Fidelity that she reposeth in them she giveth Authority by Commission, to execute a great Part of those Laws, who also by Oath be bound to perform the same. Besides, the most special and needful Laws her Highness causeth to be proclaimed and published unto her People; as over this also (lest Men should be forgetful of their Duties) she causeth a Number of her Justices to be called into publick Place, and there to be exhorted and admonished in her Majesty's Name to see the Execution of her Laws; and what here can be more devised for her Majesty to do? Surely, in my Opinion, nothing.

'Then falleth it out necessarily and consequently, that the Burthen of all these Enormities, Absurdities and Mischiefs that do grow in the Common-Wealth for not executing of Laws, must light upon those Persons that have Authority from her Majesty to execute them and do it not: Which is a Burthen over-heavy for any to bear, being justly charged. For the Avoiding of this therefore, methinks, Men being thus remembred, ought to seek with all Diligence, and endeavour to satisfy for their Negligence, and Uncarefulness past; which if they shall forget to do,

'her

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. ‘her Majesty shall be then driven, clean contrary ‘to her most Gracious Nature and Inclination, to ‘appoint and assign private Men, for Profit and ‘Gain Sake, to see her penal Laws to be executed. ‘The Course which hitherto her Majesty hath ta‘ken, hath been, to have her Laws executed by ‘Men of Credit and Estimation for the Love of ‘Justice, uprightly and indifferently; but if they ‘shall refuse so to do, forgetting their Duty to ‘God, Sovereign and Country, then of Necessi‘ty, rather than the Laws should be unexecuted, ‘her Majesty shall be driven, I say, to commit the ‘Execution of them to those, who in respect of ‘Profit and Gain, will see them executed with all ‘Extremity. And what a Burthen that will bring ‘to the Common-Weal, I leave it to your Con‘sideration. But it is to be hoped, that if the ‘Respects before remembred, will not move you ‘to see better to your Charge; yet the Fear of this ‘great Inconveniency should constrain Men that ‘be in Commission to look to the better Execution ‘of Laws. And thus much touching the fourth ‘Part.

‘Now as the fifth and last, which concern‘eth the Grant of a Subsidy, her Majesty hath ‘commanded me to say unto you, that that Grant ‘is a manifest Declaration by Deed of that which ‘before was declared by Words: For how could ‘such a Grant be made, and in such Manner ‘granted, and by such Persons, but that of Ne‘cessity it must proceed from the benevolent Minds ‘and hearty Affections of such loving Subjects as ‘are before remembred? True it is, that her Ma‘jesty in these your Doings hath noted three ‘Things especially and principally every of them ‘tending much to the setting forth of your Bene‘volence. The first, Who it is that granted; ‘the second, The Manner of granting: the ‘third, What it was that is granted. As to the ‘first, HerMajesty cannot forget, how this Grant ‘proceeded from the earnest Affections and hearty ‘Good-Wills of her loving and obedient Subjects.

‘Where-

Wherefore her Majesty maketh greater Account thereof than Ten Subsidies, and so she commanded me to say unto you. Again, her Majesty remembreth very well, that this Grant was made not by Subjects that never did the like before, but by Subjects that have been, and continued to be ready from Time to Time, to contribute towards the necessary Charges and Defence of the Realm; which doth greatly commend and set forth, she saith, this Benevolence of yours. And as to the second, which is, The Manner of granting, her Highness noteth two Things especially; the one is Universality of Consent; and can there be a more universal Consent than when all agreeing and none denying as this was? Nay, her Highness knoweth that, before her Time, these Manner of Grants passed not but with a great Persuasion and many Difficulties; whereas this was frankly offered without any Persuasion or Difficulty at all. The other is the Readiness of granting. It is written of Benevolence, *Bis dat qui cito dat*, which her Majesty saith, may be justly applied to these your Proceedings. And to the third, which is the Thing granted, she taketh it to be as liberal as any heretofore hath been granted; and therefore hath commanded me to yield unto you her most hearty condign Thanks, and withal, to let you understand, that her Majesty is as willing and desirous to give you this whole Subsidy again, as you have been willing to grant it, if the Necessity of the Realm and your Surety would suffer it. And thus much touching the granting of the Subsidy. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

'Now as to due and true Execution of the same, I am to exhort and also to admonish you, and yet it may be probably said, that Persons that have thus bountifully and readily made this Grant wherein and whereby their benevolent Minds and hearty Affections have been so manifestly declared in granting, that to these Persons neither Admonishments nor Exhortations are due for the true Executing of that Grant, no more than a

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. 'Spur is to a Horse, that runneth as swiftly as he 'can. Albeit this Argument in Reason carrieth 'Probability and Likelihood with it; yet former 'Experience hath taught that these Grants have 'not been so duly and truly executed, as they have 'been benevolently granted.'

Acts passed. There are the Titles of thirty-seven Acts passed this Session, in the Lords Catalogue; in the printed Statutes, only twenty-four, but the Supernumerary Acts are only on private Affairs, for which Reason they are not mentioned. Some further Care was taken to reform the Abuses of the Clergy, by an Act made for an Explanation of one passed in the last Session, on the score of Dilapidations and granting Scandalous Leases of Spiritual Benefices.

The Queen having passed all the Acts, the Parliament was adjourned to the next Day; when, in the Afternoon, her Majesty came again to the House, and the Lord Keeper, by her Command, The Parliament prorogued. prorogued this Parliament to the 5th Day of *November* next.

It is somewhat surprising, that so exact an Annalist of this Queen's Reign, as Mr. *Camden* was, should wholly omit the Transactions of this last Session of Parliament. It is true, there is little Historical Matter in them, except in the Grant of the *Subsidy*; which, if it was as large as the printed Statutes make it, is very remarkable; since it was a greater Supply, at one Time, than any we have met with before: and what the State, by any Exigences that History takes Notice of, seemed not then to stand in need of.

It was a long Time, indeed, before any farther Subsidy was required, or any Parliament sat to grant one; for never such a Chain of Prorogations, of one Parliament, was seen in *English* History, as comes now to be related; the *Journals* of the Lords, for very many Pages together, being filled with nothing else, but Meetings and Prorogations, and Commissions, at large, for Prorogations; reciting all that had

gone

gone before them. So that the laſt, to their Meeting to do Buſineſs, recapitulates the whole; from which we ſhall extract them; *in Die ad Diem, in Anno ad Annum*, to avoid a Prolixity of Matter, ſcarce worth recording at all, by any, but an Expreſs Writer of *Parliamentary Hiſtory*. Queen Elizabeth. 1575.

The laſt Seſſion of Parliament continued from *February* the 8th to *March* the 15th; from which Time it was prorogued to the 15th of *November* following, which was ſtill in the 18th Year of this Reign, or *Anno* 1576; Queen *Elizabeth* beginning her Reign on the 17th of *November*, 1558. From *November* 5th, the Parliament was again prorogued to

An. Reg. 19,	*June* 3*d.*	*An. Reg.*	*Jan.* 30*th.*
	From thence to		*Feb.* 29*th.*
	Nov. 12*th.*		*April* 12*th.*
20,	*March* 26*th*		*May* 2*d.*
	April 8*th.*		*May* 30*th.*
	May 26*th.*		*June* 30*th.*
	Nov. 4*th.*		*Aug.* 25*th.*
21,	*Jan.* 2*d.*		*Sept.* 20*th.*
	April 27*th.*		*Oct.* 17*th.*
	May 20*th.*		*Nov.* 4*th.*
	Oct. 20*th.*	23,	*Nov.* 24*th.*
22,	*Nov.* 24*th.*		*Jan.* 16*th.*
	Jan. 20*th.*		

Mr. *Camden* makes no manner of Mention of theſe frequent Prorogations, which it is ſtrange a Cotemporary Hiſtorian ſhould omit. He reckons always a Year wrong, too, in his Chronology; beginning with the Almanacks, when it ought to be from the Day that the late Queen died; for which Reaſon, he is ever a Year before us, in his *Annals*. But now, in his Account of the enſuing Seſſion, he is worſe out; for he begins it in *January*, in the 25th Year of this Reign; whereas both the Lords *Journals* and the *Statute-Books* make it juſtly the 23d.

We ſhall paſs over all the Occurrences which happened in this long Interval of Time; in which,

Queen Elizabeth. 1575. we may suppose, the Government wanted no Supplies, since a Parliament was not allowed to sit and grant them. It may be thought, that the famous Sailor, Sir *Francis Drake*, had amply filled the Queen's Coffers, as well as his own, by the vast Treasure he had brought from the *Spanish West-Indies*, about this Time. For which he had that memorable Honour done him of having his Name, in a *Rebus*, stamped on the *English* Coin (*i*).

The same Parliament meet again, after twenty-four Prorogations. On the 16th of *January*, in the 23d Year of *Elizabeth*, the same Parliament which was called in the 14th, met once more at *Westminster*. The State of the Peerage, as it stood towards the Middle of this Reign, may not be improper to give at this Time.

Anno Regni 23, 1581. At Westminster. (*k*) The Queen, to *William Cecil* Lord *Burghley*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, &c.

William Marquiss of *Winchester*.
Edward Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*.
Edward Earl of *Oxford* Ld Great Chamberlain
Thomas Earl of *Sussex*, Chamberlain of the Houshold.
Philip Earl of *Arundele*.
Henry E. of *Northumberland*.
George E. of *Shrewsbury*.
Henry E. of *Kent*.
Henry E. of *Derby*.
William E. of *Worcester*.
Edward E. of *Rutland*.
George E. of *Cumberland*.
Henry E. of *Huntingdon*.
William E. of *Bath*.
Ambrose E. of *Warwick*.
Henry Earl of *Southampton*.
Francis E. of *Bedford*.
Henry E. of *Pembroke*.
Edward E. of *Hertford*.
Robert E. of *Leicester*.
Thomas Viscount *Montague*.
Thomas Viscount *Howard* of *Byndon*.
Henry Nevile, Lord *Bergavenny*.
George Touchet Ld *Audley*.
Peregrine Bertie Ld *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.
Edward Parker Ld *Morley*.
George Fiennes Ld *Dacre*.
William Brooke Ld *Cobham*.
Edward Ld *Stafford*.
Arthur Ld *Grey* of *Wilton*.
Henry

(*i*) A Bird, supposed, by our Connoisseurs in Coins, to represent a Drake.

(*k*) Dugdale's *Summons to Parliament*, p. 528.

Henry Lord *Scrope* of *Bolton.*
Edward Ld *Sutton of Dudley.*
John Nevile Ld *Latimer.*
John Lumley Ld *Lumley.*
John Ld *Stourton.*
Cuthbert Ld *Ogle.*
James Blount Ld *Mountjoy.*
John Darcie Ld *Darcie.*
William Stanley, Ld *Montegle.*
William Ld *Sands.*
William Ld *Vaux* of *Harrowden.*
Frederick Ld *Windsor.*
Thomas Ld *Wentworth* of *Nettlested.*
Thomas Ld *Brough.*
William Paulet Ld *St John* of *Basing.*
Lewis Ld *Mordaunt.*
Henry Lord *Cromwell.*
William Ld *Evers.*
Philip Ld *Wharton.*
Robert Ld *Riche.*
Charges Ld *Willoughby of Parham.*
Thomas Ld *Paget.*
John Ld *Darcie* of *Chich.*
Charles Ld *Howard of Effingham.*
Roger Ld *North.*
Giles Bruges Ld *Chandois.*
Henry Carey, Ld *Hunsdon.*
Oliver Ld *St John* of *Bletso.*
Thomas Sackvile Ld *Buckhurst.*
William West Ld *De la Ware.*
Henry Ld *Cheney* of *Toddington.*
Henry Ld *Norrys* of *Rycot.*

Whoever compares this List of the Peerage with that in the Beginning of this Reign, will find that there had been above twenty new Creations; which, with the twenty-six Bishops, must give the Court a very great Power in the House of Lords in those Days. Nor was the Queen less pleased, we may suppose, with the Body of Commons, since in the Course of so many Years she never thought proper to change them. However, at the Meeting aforementioned, Death had made an Alteration in that House, by taking from them their Speaker; without which they could do no Business, as was the Case of the last Parliament. A long Representation is entered in the Lords *Journals*, 'concerning a 'great Defect in the other House, for Want of 'Sir *Robert Bell*, Kt. Lord Chief Baron of the Ex-'chequer, their Mouth and Speaker, lately dead. 'But that they finding good Direction what to do,

Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'by a former Precedent, in a Seſſion of Parliament 'holden, *Sept.* 30th, in the 8th Year of her Reign, 'had appointed Sir *Francis Knolles*, Kt. Treaſu-'rer of the Queen's Houſhold; Sir *James Crofts*, 'Comptroller; Sir *Francis Walſingham*, and 'Doctor *Wilſon*, Secretaries of State; Sir *Walter* '*Mildmay*, Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer; 'with ſeveral other Members of the ſaid Houſe, in 'the Name of the whole, to go and wait upon the 'Lord Chancellor and the Houſe of Lords, and 'requeſt their Aid and Aſſiſtance for Intimation of 'the Matter to her Majeſty.

'Then the Lord Chancellor, firſt deſiring this 'Committee to withdraw a while, acquainted that 'Houſe with the Petition of the Commons; who, 'after due Conſideration of the Premiſſes, thought 'proper to appoint ſuch of the Lords as were of 'the Privy-Council, with the Marquis of *Wincheſ-*'*ter* and the Earl of *Arundele*, to go along with a 'ſelect Number of the Commons, to repreſent 'this Caſe to the Queen.'

The firſt Day, the Receivers and Tryers of Petitions being appointed, as antiently, a Bill was read for the Reformation of Abuſes in Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs, and their Officers; which we do not find paſſed into a Law. The Houſe was adjourned to the 18th: On which Day it is entered, that the Lord Chancellor produced a Commiſſion from the Queen under the Broad Seal, whereby he was authoriſed to call the Commons before him, and to will and command them to repair to their accuſtomed Place, and chooſe another Speaker, in the Room of Sir *Robert Bell*, Kt. aforeſaid. But nothing more is entered in the Lords *Journals* about this Matter.

Two Bills were brought into the Houſe of Lords this Seſſion, the firſt was againſt Scandalous Words and Rumours, and other Seditious Practices. The other againſt Scandalous Libels made on the Queen. The firſt paſſed into a Law, but we hear no more of the latter; but it is probable they were both joined into one, which, together, formed a Law to this Purpoſe:

'That

'That if any Perſon ſhall adviſedly and with a malicious Intent, ſpeak any falſe and ſlanderous News, or Tales, againſt the Queen that now is, he ſhall have both his Ears cut off except he pay two hundred Pounds into the *Exchequer*, for the Queen's Uſe, within two Months after Judgment. And, if he ſpake ſuch ſlanderous Tales on the Report of any other, he ſhall have one of his Ears cut off, except he pay two hundred Marks, *&c.* And, if any Perſon, once convict, ſhall offend again, it ſhall be adjudged Felony. Likewiſe, if any Perſon, within this Realm or without, ſhall deviſe, write, print, or ſet forth any Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter, or Writing, containing any falſe, ſeditious, and ſlanderous Matter, to the Defamation of the Queen, or the Stirring or Moving any Rebellion; or ſhall cauſe any ſuch Book, Rhime, Writing, *&c.* to be written, printed, or publiſhed; or ſhall, by ſetting of any Figure, caſting of Nativity, or by Calculation, Propheſying, Witchcraft, Conjuration, *&c.* ſeek to know, and ſhall ſet forth, by expreſs Words, Deeds, or Writings, how long the Queen ſhall live; or who ſhall reign, as King or Queen after her Deceaſe; or ſhall utter any Prophecies to any ſuch Intent; or ſhall wiſh or deſire the Death or Deprivation of the Queen, or any Thing to the ſame Effect; then every ſuch Offence ſhall be adjudged *Felony*.' Queen Elizabeth's 1581.

It is certain that the Government was under no ſmall Uneaſineſs, at this Time, on account of the open Freedoms taken with the Queen and her Adminiſtration, and the Secret Deſigns of the *Papiſts* who were conſtantly plotting to overthrow both. This Jealouſy produced a Bill ſtronger than the former, which was firſt read and carried in the Houſe of Commons, and ſent up to the Lords, *March* the 7th, with this Title; *A Bill for keeping the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects in their due Obedience.* The Bill was read a third Time, on the 10th of the ſame Month, and concluded; and is the firſt Act, in our *Statute-Books*, of this Seſſion. By it was declared,

Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

Another, making it High Treason to turn Papist.

'That whosoever shall dissuade the Subjects from 'their Obedience to their Prince, and from the 'Religion established in *England*, or shall reconcile 'them to the Church of *Rome*; also, those who 'shall be so dissuaded and reconciled, are guilty of '*High Treason*. Those, also, who shall say Mass, 'are fined in two hundred Marks and Imprison-'ment for a Year, or longer, 'till they have paid 'the Money. Those who shall wittingly and 'willingly be present at Mass, are fined in one hun-'dred Marks, and Imprisonment likewise for a 'Year. And they who refuse to frequent Divine 'Service, in their Parish-Churches, are fined in 'twenty Pounds a Month.'

The better to understand the Reason why the Government enacted such severe Laws, at present, it will be necessary to look a little into the History of the Times. Amongst the Many Matches that had been proposed to Queen *Elizabeth*, from different Princes of *Europe*, there was one, at this Time, which came nearer Marriage than any of the rest.

In the Year 1572, the Queen-Mother of *France* had proposed her youngest Son, *Francis* Duke *D'Alenzon*, as a Husband for *Elizabeth*; but the Queen is said then to disapprove of it, because of the Inequality of their Ages; he being then scarce seventeen Years, and she above eight and thirty (*l*). However, the Queen promised to consider of it; and a long Consideration she took; for she led him a Dance from Year to Year, till, his elder Brother dying, he became Duke of *Anjou*. In the Year 1581, this Duke was chosen Governour of the *Netherlands*, by the then revolted *States*; and the same Year came himself in *England*, in order to prosecute, with more Vigour, his intended Match with the Queen. The Nail was now driven a great Length; and the brisk *French* Prince pursued the Amour so closely, that some Authors, especially *Hollingshead*, have left us Room to think that a very great Familiarity was then between them. The grave Mr. *Camden* tells us, That on the

A Marriage on Foot between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou.

(*l*) Camden in Kennet, p. 445.

the 17th of *November*, this Year, when the Queen had, with great Pomp, celebrated her Coronation-Day, *the Force of modeſt Love, in the Midſt of amorous Diſcourſe, carried her ſo far as to draw off a Ring from her own Finger, and put it upon the Duke of* Anjou's, *upon certain Conditions betwixt them two* (*m*). The Company took this Action for a public Contract; but it did not prove ſo; for the Duke having ſpent ſome Months in bringing this old Pike to his Bait, was at laſt forced to quit her; not without ſome ſmart Invectives againſt the *Lightneſs of Women*, ſays *Camden*, and the *Inconſtancy of Iſlanders*. Queen Elizabeth, 1581.

This Amour occaſioned great Noiſe all over *Europe*; but, at Home, People were variouſly affected, as their own Intereſts led them to judge of the Match. The *Papiſts* were glad to find that a *Popiſh* Prince was, likely, once more to be on, or near, the Throne; and the *Proteſtants*, on the contrary, were ſhocked at ſuch a Proſpect. Theſe laſt threw out many ſevere Reflexions on the intended Union: Books and Pamphlets were printed againſt it. Amongſt which, one gave great Offence to the Queen, entituled, *The Gulph*, *wherein* England *will be ſwallowed by the* French *Match*. The Author, Printer, and Publiſher of it, being found out, ſuffered an uncommon Puniſhment, having their Right Hands cut off by a Cleaver, driven thro' the Wriſt by the Force of a Mallet, on a Scaffold in *Weſtminſter* (*n*). Which gives great Offence to the Proteſtants.

Theſe Men were of a Sect lately ſprung up, called *Puritans*. But,

The Queen, to ſhew that ſhe was no Way inclined to favour *Popery*, ſuffered, at the ſame Time, four Popiſh Prieſts to be arraigned and executed as Traitors. And theſe were the Reaſons that induced the Government to get the foregoing Laws enacted; both againſt the open ſeditious Libels and Reflections of the *Puritans*, and the ſecret Practices of the *Papiſts*. That the Former were very warm in their Remonſtrances to the Parlia-

(*m*) *Camden*, &c. p. 586.

(*n*) By virtue of an Act paſs'd in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, againſt the Authors and Publiſhers of Seditious Writings.

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liament itself, at this Time, apears by an *Admonition* then addressed to the Queen and both Houses. In the Conclusion of which, the Authors thunder out *Anathemas* against all those who oppose the Progress of their intended Religious Plan; the Stile and charitable Insinuations of which are too curious to be omitted. This Pious *Admonition* tells them plainly:

A Pious Remonstrance against it.

'That the State did not shew itself upright, alledge the Parliament what it will; that all honest Men should find Lack of Equity, and all good Consciences condemn that Court; that *it should be easier for* Sodom *and* Gomorrha, *in the Day of Judgment, than for such a Parliament.* That there is no other Thing to be looked for than some speedy Vengeance to light upon the whole Land, let the *politic Machiavels* of *England* provide as well as they can, tho' God do his worst. And, finally, if they of that Assembly would not follow the Advice of their *Admonitions*, they would infallibly be their own Carvers in it; the Church being bound to keeep God's Order, and nothing to be called God's Order but their present Plat-form (*o*).' But to proceed with our *Journals*:

On the 6th of *February*, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, to oblige all Persons whatsoever to come to Church, hear Divine Service, and receive the Sacrament. But this Bill was let drop after the first Reading.

A Subsidy granted.

March the 2d, a Bill was sent up by the Commons, for granting a Supply to her Majesty, of a *Subsidy*, two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. It passed the House of Lords on the 8th; but, it is strange, that *Camden* takes no Manner of Notice of these Taxes, nor for what Occasion they were wanted; unless it was for, secretly, supplying the *Dutch*, the then *Humble States*, with Money, to support them in their late Revolt from *Spain* (*p*).

'A Bill

(*o*) *Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist.* Vol. II, p. 536.
(*p*) *Camden* in *Kennet*, p. 485.

A Bill passed the House of Lords for fortifying the Borders towards *Scotland*, which was sent down to the Commons, who, on the 8th of *March*, sent up a new Bill to the Lords, to the same Purpose, and their old Bill with it. On which this remarkable Entry is made in their *Journals:* Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'This Day the Commons House sent up a new 'Bill, *For fortifying the Borders towards* Scotland, 'and, withal, returned a former Bill, which the 'Lords, with great Deliberation, had passed, and 'sent down before, with the same Title. Which 'Course the Lords thought to be both derogatory 'to the Superiority of the Place, and contrary to the 'antient Course of both Houses. And, as they 'disliked this Disorder, so it was their Pleasure, that 'this their Misliking should be entered in the Re'cords of Parliament, lest so evil an Example 'might hereafter be used as a Precedent.'—This is one of the first Instances, we have yet met with, of any material Dispute between the Two Houses. Whether they had any Conference to settle this Affair is uncertain by the Lord's *Journal*; but we find, that on the 10th, the new Bill was read a first Time, by the Lords, and passed that House on the 15th, with certain Amendments, which were agreed to by the Commons. A Difference between the Two Houses.

Causes of Appeal, between Party and Party, came now to be tried at the Bar of the House of Lords, and entered in their *Journal.* In this Session, there is a long *Memorandum* made of a Cause between the Marquess of *Winchester*, his Lady, and one Mr. *Oughtred*; which, at last, was referred to a Committee of Lords, chosen by the Parties themselves, for their Determination.

The *Journals* of the House of Commons begin this Session of Parliament, with a very long Entry, relating to the Death of their Speaker, and the Election of a new one. But, as this was purely Matter of Form, we pass it over. John Popham, Esq. elected Speaker, on the Death of Sir Robert Bell.

The Commons having made Choice of *John Popham*, Esq; her Majesty's Sollicitor-General, for their Speaker, in the room of Sir *Robert Bell*, deceased;

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ed; he was presented, and confirmed by the Queen, on the 20th of *January*, with the usual Ceremonies. But, what is very remarkable, the Lord Chancellor gave him this Admonition:

'That the House of Commons should not deal 'or intermeddle with any Matters touching her 'Majesty's Person, or Estate, or Church-Govern-'ment.'

The next Thing, of any Moment, that we find in the *Journals*, is a Work of Piety, and evidently shews the Religious Disposition of the Members in those Days.

January 21st, one Mr. *Paul Wentworth* stood up, and made a Motion, for a public Fast, and daily Preaching. 'The Fast to be appointed upon 'some one certain Day, but the Preaching to be e-'very Morning before the House did sit. That so, 'they beginning their Proceedings, with the Ser-'vice and Worship of God, he might the better 'bless them in all their Consultations and Acti-'ons.'

This Motion occasioned a warm Debate, and many Speeches, we are told, were made, *Pro* and *Con*, about it. It is not said what any of their Arguments were, only, that Sir *Francis Knolles*, Treasurer; Mr. *Thomas Cromwell*, and Mr. *Alford*, spoke against the Motion; and Mr. *Cook*, Mr. Secretary *Wilson*, and Mr. Serjeant *Flowerden*, for it. Mr. *Norton* also shewed Precedents, that there had been Fasts in *London*, appointed only by the Council. By which, says the *Journalist*, he seemed to infer, that a Parliament ought the rather to do it.

The Commons appoint a Fast, by their own Authority.

However, the House being divided about this Matter, it was put to the Question, when one hundred and fifteen Voices were for, and one hundred against it. We let this pass without any other Observation, than that this *Paul Wentworth* was Brother to *Peter*, who began the last Session with a famous Speech on the Liberty of Parliament. And the Sequel will shew that this last Motion bred almost as much Disturbance as the former. For,

On

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On the Reſolution aforeſaid, a Faſt having been appointed to be kept, in the *Temple-Church*, on the 29th of this Inſtant *January*, there to aſſemble and meet together, to hear Preaching, and join in Prayer, Humiliation, and Faſting, *&c.* on the 24th of the ſame Month, an Entry is made, which we ſhall give, *verbatim*, as follows:

Which being reſented by the Queen;

'Mr. Speaker declared himſelf, for his own Part, to be very ſorry for the Error that happened here in this Houſe upon *Saturday* laſt, in reſolving to have a publick Faſt; and ſheweth her Majeſty's great Miſliking of the Proceeding of this Houſe therein, declaring it to fall out in ſuch Sort as he before did fear it would do; and, adviſing the Houſe to a Submiſſion in that Behalf, further moved them to beſtow their Time and Endeavour hereafter, during the Seſſion, in Matters proper and pertinent for this Houſe to deal in, and to omit all ſuperfluous and unneceſſary Motions and Arguments, with all due Regard and Conſideration to the Order of the Houſe.

'Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declaring a Meſſage from her Majeſty to this whole Houſe, by her Highneſs's Commandment ſhewed unto them her great Admiration of the Raſhneſs of this Houſe, in committing ſuch an apparent Contempt againſt her Majeſty's expreſs Commandments, very lately before delivered unto the whole Houſe by the Lord Chancellor in her Highneſs's Name, as to attempt and put in Execution, ſuch an Innovation as the ſame Faſt, without her Majeſty's Privity and Pleaſure firſt known; blaming firſt the whole Houſe, and then Mr. Speaker; and declaring her Majeſty's Proteſtation for the allowing of Faſting and Prayer, with the Uſe and Exerciſe thereof in her own Perſon; but reproving the undutiful Proceeding of this Houſe, as againſt the Duty of Subjects, did nevertheleſs, very eloquently and amply, ſet forth her Majeſty's moſt honourable and good Acceptation of the Zeal, Duty, and Fidelity, of this whole

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whole Houſe towards Religion, the Safety of her Highneſs's Perſon, and the State of this Common-wealth; (in reſpect whereof her Majeſty hath ſo long continued this Parliament without Diſſolution) and declared further, to the great Joy and Comfort of this whole Houſe, that her Majeſty nevertheleſs, of her ineſtimable and Princely good Love and Diſpoſition, and of her Highneſs moſt gracious Clemency, conſtrueth the ſaid Offence and Contempt to be raſh, unadviſed, and an inconſiderate Error of this Houſe, proceeding of Zeal, and not of the wilful and malicious Intent of this Houſe, or of any Member of the ſame; imputing the Cauſe therefore partly to her own Lenity towards a Brother of that Man which now made this Motion; (Mr. *Wentworth*) who in the laſt Seſſion was by this Houſe for juſt Cauſes reprehended and committed, but by her Majeſty graciouſly pardoned and reſtored again. And after many excellent Diſcourſes and Dilatations of her Highneſs's moſt honourable and loving Care for the Advancement of Religion and the State, wherein ſhe had before ſignified her Prohibition to this Houſe by the Lord Chancellor, ſhewed that her Highneſs hath already deeply conſulted upon thoſe Matters in all due and needful Reſpects, and prepared fit and apt Courſes to digeſt them, meet and ready to be delivered unto this Houſe from her Highneſs, by ſuch Direction as her Majeſty thinketh moſt convenient. And ſo perſuading this Houſe to employ the Time about the neceſſary Service of the Queen's Majeſty and of the Common-wealth, with due and grave Regard to the antient Orders of this Houſe, concludeth, that he thinketh it very meet, that this whole Houſe, or ſome one of this Houſe, by Warrant of the Houſe, in the Name of the ſaid Houſe, do make moſt humble Submiſſion unto her Majeſty; acknowledging the ſaid Offence and Contempt, and in moſt humble and dutiful wiſe, to pray Remiſſion of the ſame at her Highneſs's Hands, with full Purpoſe hereafter to forbear committing of the like Offence.'

'Mr. Comptroller followed him, and ſpake to the ſame Effect, but urged and enforced the Fault of the Houſe with much more Violence.' Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'Mr. *Nicholas St. Leger* ſpake next, and with a great deal of Diſcretion and Moderation extenuated the ſaid Offence of the Houſe: urging firſt, the great Affection to her Majeſty, the Sincerity of their Intention in that Motion of the Faſt; then the Imperfections and Sins to which not only private Men, but publick States are alſo ſubject, and therefore needed to be ſupported by Prayer and Humiliation; and then he urged, the great Fault and Remiſſneſs of the Biſhops, who ſuffered that moſt neceſſary Duty of Faſting and Humiliation to grow even out of Uſe in the Church; and laſtly, he concluded, that he truſted that both her Majeſty and all her Subjects, would be ready to expreſs their true Repentance to God in humbling themſelves in Sack-Cloth and Aſhes.'

'Mr. *St. Poole* followed Mr. *St. Leger*, but ſpake ſomewhat differing from him, aggravating the Fault of the Houſe, and urging Submiſſion.'

'Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer ſpake next, and admoniſhed the Houſe of their Duty which they did owe to ſo good and gracious a Prince, as her Majeſty hath expreſſed herſelf to be in all this long Time of her Government; and therefore urged the Houſe to Submiſſion.'

'Mr. *Seckford*, one of the Maſters of the Requeſts, urged the ſame Submiſſion; but withal he thought it very fitting, and could wiſh it, that Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, who had brought the Meſſage from her Majeſty of her Diſpleaſure, might alſo carry the Houſe's Submiſſion back again unto her Highneſs.'

'Mr. *Flowerden* ſpake next, and ſhewed the Sincerity of his Intention in ſpeaking for the Faſt, when it was firſt moved; but now concluded, that it was moſt fitting for the Houſe to make their Submiſſion to her Majeſty.'

'Mr.

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'Mr. *Carleton* ſtood up and offered to have ſpoken, but was interrupted by Mr. Speaker and the Houſe.'

'Then Mr. Speaker aſked the Queſtion, Whether Mr. Vice-Chamberlain ſhould carry the Submiſſion of the Houſe to her Majeſty, and it was agreed to by the Conſent of the whole Houſe.'

They make a Submiſſion to her Majeſty;

'Mr. *Carleton* offered again to ſpeak, ſaying with ſome Repetition, that what he had to move was for the Liberty of the Houſe; but the Speaker notwithſtanding, and the Houſe (out of a tender Care as it ſeemeth to give no further Diſtaſte to her Majeſty) did ſtay him.'

'Mr. Vice-Chamberlain brought Anſwer from her Majeſty of her moſt gracious Acceptation of the Submiſſion, and of her Majeſty's Admonition and Confidence of their diſcreet Proceeding; with one ſpecial Note, that they do not miſreport the Cauſe of her Miſliking, which was not, for that they deſired Faſting and Prayer, but for the Manner in preſuming to indict a Form of publick Faſt without Order and without her Privity, which was to intrude upon her Authority Eccleſiaſtical.'

Sir *Walter Mildmay* ſpake next, and ſaid, *Mr. Speaker*,

Sir Walter Mildmay's Motion for ſecuring the Kingdom, &c. againſt the Pope and his Adherents.

'THE principal Cauſe of our Aſſembly here, being to conſult of Matters that do concern the Realm, I have thought good with your Patience, to remember you of ſuch Things, as for the Weight and Neceſſity of them I take to be worthy of your Conſiderations. Wherein I mean to note unto you what I have conceived, firſt, of the preſent State we be in; next, of the Dangers we may juſtly be in doubt of; and laſtly, what Proviſion ought to be made in Time to prevent or reſiſt them. Theſe ſhewed, as briefly as the Matters will ſuffer, I leave them to your Judgments to proceed further as you ſhall find it expedient.

'That our moſt gracious Queen did at her firſt Entry looſen us from the Yoke of *Rome*, and

did

'did reſtore unto this Realm the moſt pure and 'holy Religion of the Goſpel, which for a Time 'was overſhadowed with Popery, is known of 'all the World, and felt of us to our ſingular 'Comforts. But from hence, as from the Root, 'hath ſprung that implacable Malice of the *Pope*, 'and his Confederates againſt her, whereby they 'have and do ſeek, not only to trouble, but, if 'they could, to bring the Realm again into 'Thraldom; the rather for that they hold this as 'a firm and ſettled Opinion, that *England* is the 'only ſettled Monarchy that moſt doth maintain 'and countenance Religion, being the Chief Sanc-'tuary for the afflicted Members of the Church 'that fly thither from the Tyranny of *Rome*, as 'Men being in Danger of Shipwreck, do from a 'raging and tempeſtuous Sea, to a calm and quiet 'Haven. This being ſo, What hath not the *Pope* 'eſſayed to annoy the Queen and her State, there-'by, as he thinketh, to remove this great Obſtacle 'that ſtandeth between him and the over-flowing 'of the World again with Popery? For the Proof 'whereof theſe may ſuffice.

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'The Northern Rebellion ſtirred up by the '*Pope*, and the Quarrel for *Popery*.

'The Maintenance ſithence of thoſe Rebels 'and other Fugitives.

'The publiſhing of a moſt impudent, blaſphe-'mous and malicious Bull againſt our moſt Right-'ful Queen.

'The Invaſion into *Ireland* by *James Fitz-'Morrice*, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Engliſh 'Rebels.

'The Raiſing of a dangerous Rebellion in *Ire-'land* by the Earl of *Deſmond* and others, in-'tending thereby to make a general Revolt of all 'the whole Realm.

'The late Invaſion of Strangers into *Ireland*, 'and their fortifying it.

'The *Pope* turned thus the Venom of his Cur-'ſes and the Pens of his malicious Paraſites into 'Men of War and Weapons, to win that by

Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'Force, which otherwiſe he could not do. And 'though all theſe are ſaid to be done by the *Pope*, 'and in his Name, yet who ſeeth not that they 'be maintained under-hand by ſome Princes his 'Confederates? And if any Man be in doubt of 'that, let him but note from whence the laſt In-'vaſion into *Ireland* came, of what Country the 'Ships, and of what Nation the moſt Part of the 'Soldiers were, and by Direction of whoſe Mini-'ſters they received their Victual and Furniture.

'For the *Pope* of himſelf at this preſent, is far 'unable to make War upon any Prince of that 'Eſtate which her Majeſty is of, having loſt, as 'you know, many Years, by the Preaching of the 'Goſpel, thoſe infinite Revenues which he was 'wont to have out of *England*, *Scotland*, *Germa-'ny*, *Switzerland*, *Denmark*, and others; and now 'out of *France* and the *Low-Countries*; ſo as we 'are to think that his Name only is uſed, and all, 'or the moſt Part of the Charge, borne by others.

'The Queen nevertheleſs by the Almighty 'Power of God ſtandeth faſt, maugre the *Pope* 'and all his Friends; having hitherto reſiſted all 'Attempts againſt her, to her great Honour, and 'their great Shame. As,

'The Rebellion in the North ſuppreſſed with-'out Effuſion of Blood, wherein her Majeſty may 'ſay as *Cæſar* did, *Veni*, *vidi*, *vici*; ſo expedite 'and ſo honourable was the Victory that God did 'give her, by the Diligence and Valour of thoſe 'noble Men that had the Conducting thereof.

'The Enterprize of *James Fitz-Morice* defeat-'ed, and himſelf ſlain.

'The *Italians* pulled out by the Ears at *Smir-'wick* in *Ireland*, and cut in Pieces by the notable 'Service of a noble Captain and valiant Soldiers.

'Neither theſe nor any other Threatnings or 'Fears of Danger hath, or doth make her to ſtag-'ger or relent in the Cauſe of Religion; but like 'a conſtant Chriſtian Princeſs, ſhe ſtill holdeth faſt 'the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, that hath ſo long 'upholden her, and made us to live in Peace

'twenty

'twenty two Years and more under her moſt gracious Government, free from thoſe Troubles 'that our Neighbours have felt; ſo as this now 'ſeemeth to be our preſent State, a bleſſed, peaceable, and happy Time, for the which we are 'moſt bound to God, and to pray unto him for 'the Continuance thereof. Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'But yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing our Enemies 'ſleep not, it behoveth us not to be careleſs, as 'though all were paſt; but rather to think, that 'there is but a Piece of the Storm over, and that 'the greater Part of the Tempeſt remaineth behind, and is like to fall upon us by the Malice 'of the *Pope*, the moſt Capital Enemy of the 'Queen and this State, the Determinations of the 'Council of *Trent*, and the Combination of the '*Pope* with other Monarchies and Princes devoted 'unto *Rome*; aſſuring ourſelves that if their Powers be anſwerable to their Wills, this Realm ſhall 'find at their Hands all the Miſeries and Extremities 'that they can bring upon it. And though by the 'late good Succeſs which God hath given in *Ireland*, theſe lewd and malicious Enterprizes ſeem 'for a Time to be as it were at a Stand; yet let 'us be aſſured, that neither their Attempts upon '*Ireland*, neither the Miſchiefs intended againſt '*England* will ceaſe thus; but if they find us negligent, they will be ready with greater Forces 'than have been yet ſeen. The certain Determination which the *Pope* and his combined Friends 'have to root out the Religion of the Goſpel in 'all Places, and to begin here as their greateſt Impediment, is Cauſe ſufficient to make us the more 'vigilant, and to have a wary Eye to their Doings 'and Proceedings, how ſmoothly ſoever they ſpeak 'or diſſemble their Friendſhips for the Time: For 'let us think ſurely, that they have joined Hands 'together againſt us; and if they can, they will 'procure the Sparks of the Flames that have been 'ſo terrible in other Countries, to fly over into '*England*, and to kindle as great a Fire here. And 'as the *Pope* by open Hoſtility, as you ſee, hath

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'shewed himself against her Majesty; so the better to answer in Time the Purposes that he hath 'set down in the mean Season till they come to 'Ripeness, he hath and doth by secret Practices within this Realm leave nothing untried, 'emboldening many undutiful Subjects to stand 'fast in their Disobedience to her Majesty and her 'Laws. For albeit the pure Religion of the Gospel hath had a free Course, and hath been freely 'preached now many Years within this Realm by 'the Protection of her Majesty's most Christian 'Government; yet such have been the Practices 'of the *Pope* and his secret Ministers, as the obstinate and stiff necked *Papist* is so far from being 'reformed, as he hath gotten Stomach to go backward, and to shew his Disobedience not only in 'arrogant Words, but also in contemptuous 'Deeds.

'To confirm them herein, and to increase their 'Number, you see how the *Pope* hath and doth 'comfort their hollow Hearts with Absolutions, 'Dispensations, Reconciliations, and such other 'Things of *Rome*. You see how lately he hath 'sent hither a Sort of Hypocrites, naming themselves *Jesuites*, a Rabble of vagrant Friers newly 'sprung up, and running through the World to 'trouble the Church of God: whose principal 'Errand is by creeping into the Houses of Men of 'Behaviour and Reputation, not only to corrupt 'the Realm with false Doctrine, but also under 'that Pretence, to stir up Sedition, the Peril of 'her Majesty and her good Subjects.

'How these Practices of the *Pope* have wrought 'in the disobedient Subjects of this Land, is both 'evident and lamentable to consider. For such 'Impression hath the Estimation of the *Pope's* Authority made in them, as not only those which 'from the Beginning have refused to obey, but 'many, yea, very many of those which divers 'Years together did yield and conform themselves 'in their open Actions, sithence the Decrees of 'that unholy Council of *Trent*, and sithence the

'Pub-

'Publishing and Denouncing of that blasphemous Bull against her Majesty, and sithence those secret Absolutions and Reconciliations, and the swarming hither of a Number of *Popish* Priests and Monkish *Jesuites*, have and do utterly refuse to be of our Church, or to resort unto our Preaching and Prayers. The Sequel whereof must needs prove dangerous to the whole State of the Common-wealth. Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'By this you see what Cause we have justly to doubt great Mischief threatned to this Realm; and therewith you may easily see also how for the preventing and withstanding of the same, it behoveth her Majesty not only to provide in Time sufficient Laws for the continuing of this peaceable Government; but also to be ready with Forces to repress All Attempts that may be enterprized either by Enemies abroad, or by evil Subjects at Home.'

'What Difference there is between the *Pope's* persecuting Church, and this mild Church of the Gospel, hath been seen in all Ages, and especially in the late Government compared with the merciful Time of her Majesty's Reign; the Continuance of which Clemency is also to be wished, so far as may stand with God's Honour and the Safety of the Realm: But when by long Proof we find, that this favourable and gentle Manner of dealing with the Disobeyers and Contemners of Religion, to win them by fair Means if it were possible, hath done no good, but hath bred in them a more arrogant and contemptuous Spirit, so as they have not only presumed to disobey the Laws and Orders of the Realm, but also to accept from *Rome* secret Absolutions, Reconciliations, and such like; and that by the Hands of lewd Runagates, Priests, and *Jesuites*, harbouring and entertaining them even in their Houses; thereby shewing an Obedience to the *Pope*, by their Direction also nourishing and training up their Children and Kinsfolks, not only at Home, but also Abroad in the Seminaries of

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'*Popery*; now I say it is Time for us to look 'more narrowly and strictly to them, lest as they 'be corrupt, so they prove dangerous Members 'to many born within the Entrails of our Com-'mon-Wealth.

'And seeing that the Lenity of the Time and 'the Mildness of the Laws heretofore made, are 'no small Cause of their arrogant Disobedience, 'it is necessary that we make a Provision of Laws 'more strict and more severe; to constrain them 'to yield their open Obedience, at the least, to 'her Majesty in Causes of Religion, and not to 'live as they list, to the perilous Example of 'others, and to the Encouraging of their own 'evil affected Minds: But if they will needs sub-'mit themselves to the Benediction of the *Pope*, 'they may feel how little his Curses can hurt us, 'and how little his Blessings can save them from 'that Punishment which we are able to lay upon 'them; letting them also find, how dangerous it 'shall be for them to deal with the *Pope*, or any 'thing of his, or with those *Romish* Priests and '*Jesuites*; and therewith also how perilous it 'shall be for those seditious Runagates to enter 'into the Land, to draw away from her Majesty 'that Obedience which by the Laws of God and 'Man are due unto her.

'This then is one of the Provisions which we 'ought to take care of in this Council, whereby 'we may both enjoy still that happy Peace we 'live in, and the *Pope* take the less Boldness to 'trouble us, by any Favour he shall find here.

'The next is Provision of Force, sufficient to 'answer any Violence that may be offered either 'here or abroad; for the which you know it is 'requisite that her Majesty do make Preparation 'both by Sea and by Land.

'God hath placed this Kingdom in an Island 'environed with the Sea as with a natural and 'strong Wall, whereby we are not subject to those 'sudden Invasions which other Frontier Countries 'be. One of our greatest Defences standing by

'Sea,

'Sea, the Number of good Ships is of the moſt Queen Elizabeth. 1581.
'Importance for us. What the Queen's Navy is,
'how many notable Ships, and how far behind is
'the Navy of any other Prince, is known to all
'Men; and therewith alſo it may be eaſily conſi-
'dered how great Charges be incident to the
'ſame.

'Neceſſary alſo it is, that her Majeſty have For-
'ces by Land ſufficient to chaſtiſe the Rebels in
'*Ireland*, and to repreſs any foreign Attempts ei-
'ther there or here. For which Services either
'by Land or by Sea, her Majeſty needeth not as
'other Princes are fain to do, to entertain neceſ-
'ſary Soldiers of Foreign Countries hardly gotten,
'coſtly and dangerouſly kept, and in the end,
'little or no Service done them; but may bring
'ſufficient Forces of her own natural Subjects,
'ready and eaſy to be levied, that carry with
'them willing, valiant, and faithful Minds, ſuch
'as few Nations may eaſily compare with. But
'theſe Forces with their Furniture and Munition
'can neither be prepared nor maintained to have
'Continuance, without Proviſion of Treaſure ſuf-
'ficient to bear the Charge, being, as you know,
'termed of old, *Nervus Belli*.

'This belongeth to us to conſider, and that in
'Time there be not Lack of the Sinews that muſt
'hold together the Strength of our Body. And
'becauſe through the Malice of our Enemies, her
'Majeſty is driven to keep great Forces in *Ireland*
'for the better Suppreſſing of that Rebellion to
'her exceeding Charge; and for that alſo it is un-
'certain, how ſudden and how great other At-
'tempts may be; therefore in Reaſon, our Supply
'of that Maintenance ought to be the more, eſpe-
'cially the Wars being at this Day ſo coſtly as eve-
'ry Man in his private Expence may eaſily judge.
'But leſt that peradventure ſome may judge, that
'the Contribution granted by us now five Years
'paſt, both frankly and dutifully, might ſuffice
'for many Years without any new; I dare aſſure
'you for the Acquaintance I have (though I be

Queen Elizabeth, 1581. ‘ unworthy) with those her Majesty's Affairs, that ‘ the same hath not been sufficient to answer the ‘ extraordinary Charges happen'd since then, espe- ‘ cially those of *Ireland*, by the one Half: but her ‘ Majesty hath supplied the rest out of her own ‘ Revenues, sparing from herself to serve the Ne- ‘ cessity of the Realm, and shunning thereby ‘ Loans upon Interest, as a most pestilent Canker ‘ that is able to devour even the States of Princes. ‘ Which being so, as it is most true, we are not ‘ to think upon the Charge that is past, but the ‘ Good we have received by it, being by that Pro- ‘ vision well and honourably defended against the ‘ Malice of our Enemies. And therefore consi- ‘ dering the great Benefit we have received by the ‘ last Payment, being easily taxed and easily borne, ‘ whereby we have kept all the rest in Peace; let ‘ us, as provident Counsellors of this State, prepare ‘ again in Time that which may be able to with- ‘ stand the Mischiefs intended against us. To do ‘ this willingly and liberally, our Duty to our ‘ Queen and Country, and our Safeties move us. ‘ The Love and Duty that we owe to our most ‘ gracious Queen, by whose Ministry God hath ‘ done so great Things for us, even such as be ‘ wonderful in the Eyes of the World, ought to ‘ make us more careful for her Preservation and ‘ Security than for our own. A Princess known ‘ by long Experience to be a principal Patron of ‘ the Gospel, virtuous, wise, faithful, just, un- ‘ spotted in Word and Deed, merciful, temperate, ‘ a Maintainer of Peace and Justice amongst her ‘ People without respect to Persons; a Queen be- ‘ sides of this noble Realm, our Native Country, ‘ renowned of the World, which our Enemies ‘ daily gave to over-run, if by Force or Sleight ‘ they could do it: For such a Queen and such a ‘ Country, and for the Defence of the Honour ‘ and Safety of them both, nothing ought to be ‘ dear unto us, that with most wiling Hearts we ‘ should not spend and adventure freely.

‘ The

Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'The same Love and Duty that we owe to our 'gracious Sovereign, and to this our Native Coun- 'try, ought to make us all think upon the Realm 'of *Ireland* as upon a principal Member of this 'Crown, having continued so this four Hundred 'Years or more. To lose that Land, or any 'Part thereof, which the Enemies seek, would 'not only bring with it Dishonour, but also prove 'a Thing most dangerous to *England*; considering 'the Nearness of that Realm to this, and the 'Goodness of so many notable Havens as be there. 'Again, to reform that Nation by planting therein 'Religion and Justice, which the Enemies labour 'to interrupt, is most godly and necessary; the 'Neglecting whereof hath, and will continue that 'People in all Irreligion and Disorder, to the great 'Offence of God, and to the infinite Charge of 'this Realm.

Finally, let us be mindful also of our Safety, 'thereby to avoid so great Dangers, not seen afar 'off, but imminent over our Heads.

The Quietness that we have by the peaceable 'Government of her Majesty, doth make us to 'enjoy all that is ours in more Freedom than any 'Nation under the Sun at this Day: But let not 'that breed in us a careless Security, as though this 'clear Sun-light could never be darkened; but let 'us think certainly that the *Pope* and his Favour- 'ers do both envy our Felicity, and leave no Prac- 'tice unsought to overthrow the same. And if 'any Man be so dull (as I trust there be none here) 'that he cannot conceive the Blessedness of this our 'golded Peace, except he felt the Lack of it; let 'him but cast his Eyes over the Seas, into our 'Neighbour's Countries, and there behold what 'Trouble the *Pope* and his Ministers have stirred 'against such as profess the same Religion of *Jesus* 'Christ as we do: There he may find Depopu- 'lations and Devastations of whole Provinces and 'Countries Oover-throwing, Spoiling, and Sacking 'of Cities and Towns; Imprisoning, Ransoming, 'and Murthering of all Kind of People; besides

'other

Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'other infinite Calamities which the Insolency of 'War doth usually bring with it.

'From these God in his Mercy hath delivered 'us; but this nevertheless is the State and Condi- 'tion that our Enemies would see us in, if by 'any Device they could bring it to pass; and to 'that End, be then assured, they will spare no 'Cost, nor leave any Means unessayed.

'Therefore to conclude. Seeing the Malice of 'the *Pope* and his Confederates are so notorious 'unto us, and seeing the Dangers be so great, so 'evident, and so imminent; and seeing that Pre- 'parations to withstand them cannot be made 'without Support of the Realm; and seeing that 'our Duties to God, our Queen and Country, 'and the Necessity that hangeth upon our own 'Safe-guards, be Reasons sufficient to persuade us; 'let us think upon these Matters as the Weight of 'them deserveth; and so provide in Time both by 'Laws to restrain and correct the evil affected Sub- 'jects, and by Provision of that which shall be 'requisite for the Maintenance of Forces, as our 'Enemies finding our Minds so willing, and our 'Hands so ready to keep our Country in Order, 'and to furnish her Majesty with all that shall be 'necessary, may either be discouraged to attempt 'any thing against us, or if they do, they may 'find such Resistance, as shall bring Confusion to 'themselves, Honour to our most gracious Queen, 'and Safety to us all.'

Committees appointed accordingly.

'Mr. *Norton* pursued the same Admonition, and required the House to proceed to a Manner of executing it; which in his Opinion was to appoint all the Privy-Council of this House, and certain other fit Persons, to consult of Bills convenient to be framed according to the said Motion to be presented to the House; which Motion also was well allowed, and Committees appointed to meet in the Exchequer-Chamber that Afternoon at Two of the Clock, *viz.* All the Privy-Council of this House, Sir *Thomas Heneage*, Treasurer of the Cham-

Chamber, the Masters of Requests, Sir *George Cary*, Knight-Marshal, Mr. *Fortescue*, Master of the Wardrobe, Mr. Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Fenner*, Mr. Serjeant *Fleetwood*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William More*, Sir *Thomas Scott*, Sir *John Brockett*, Sir *Henry Radclyffe*, Mr. *Yelverton*, Sir *Henry Gates*, Mr. *Hutton*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Henry Leigh*, Mr. *Woodley*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Henry Knivett*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Alderſey*, Sir *Rowland Hayward*, Mr. *Matthews*, Sir *Robert Wingfield*, Sir *Thomas Porter*, Sir *Thomas Perrot*, Mr. *John Price*, Mr. *Aylmer*, Sir *George Speke*, Mr. Lieutenant of the *Tower*, Sir *Thomas Cecill*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Mr. *Crooke*, Mr. *Robert Wroth*, Mr. *Edward Lewkenor*, Mr. *Thompſon*, Mr. *Layton*, Mr. *Edward Stanhope*, Mr. *Charles Morriſon*, Mr. *Gilbert Talbot*, Mr. *Edward Cary*, Mr. *Peter Wentworth*, Mr. *Sandys*, Sir *Robert Stapleton*, Sir *Nicholas St. Leger*, Sir *James Mervin*, Sir *William Winter*, Sir *Edward Upton*, Mr. *Fabian Philipps*, Mr. *Edgecombe*, Sir *Henry Woodhouſe*. Mr. *Peyton*, and Mr. *Digby*.' Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

There were very few Debates on any conſiderable Points this Seſſion; the Bill for a Supply being paſs'd without any. There are alſo many Orders and Regulations relating to Elections, *&c.* but none of them are material enough for our Purpoſe. The Houſe alſo thought fit to petition the Queen, on the old Score of making ſome farther Reformation in Religion. But this was touched ſo tenderly, in the Petition, that ſhe thought fit to give them a favourable Anſwer to it: On which the Houſe came to a Reſolution to take no more Notice of this Affair, but to leave it to the Speaker, in his Speech at the End of the Seſſion, to recommend this *Reformation* to her Majeſty, as he thought proper.

On the 18th Day of *March*, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, in the Afternoon, when the Speaker of the Commons, *&c.* being admitted, on the preſenting of the Bills to her Majeſty, he ſpoke to this Effect:

'That

Queen Elizabeth. 1781.

The Speaker's h to the -e- r .t.

'That the chief and principal Purpose in making of Laws did consist of three principal Parts, to wit, The first, for the true and sincere Service and Glory of God; Secondly, for the Surety and Preservation of her Majesty's most Royal Person; and Thirdly, for the Good, Quiet, and Benefit of the Common-Wealth of this her Highness's Realm and Subjects of the same; ascribing the sincere and plentiful Preaching of God's Word, with the due and right Use of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and the true Exercise and Discipline in the Churches, to be the ordinary Means both of the Advancement of God's Glory, her Majesty's Safety, and of her Subjects Prosperity; the Dew of the Word watering and bringing forth in all good Christian Consciences, the true Knowledge and Fear of God, faithful Love and due Obedience unto her Majesty, and perfect Unity in the general Society of this Common-Wealth. And the Exercise of the Sword of Discipline to cut off, repress and correct all Excesses and Errors tending to the Impeachment of all good Effects aforesaid. Declaring further unto her Highness, that her Majesty's Nobles and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, had very carefully, gravely, and dutifully travelled in this present Session, to devise and ordain good and wholsome Laws for those Ends and Purposes, to be established and allowed by her Highness; and also, some other good and necessary Laws, as well for the whole State of the Common-Wealth in general, as for the private Benefit and necessary Relief of sundry her Majesty's particular good Subjects: And so recommending all the same unto her Highness, and especially two of them, whereof one doth chiefly and principally tend to the Bridling and Reforming of her Majesty's disobedient and obstinate Subjects, the utter Adversaries of true Religion, and the most pernicious and dangerous Enemies of her Highness's most Royal Person, State and Government; the second, for the due Maintenance and Preservation of her Majesty's Honour, good Fame and

and Dignity; humbly beſought her Majeſty to give Life unto all the ſaid Laws by her Royal Aſſent. And then yielding unto her Highneſs moſt humble Thanks, in the Name of the Houſe, for her Majeſty's moſt gracious Acceptation of their moſt humble Petition unto her Highneſs for Reformation of ſome Abuſes yet remaining in the Church; and moſt humbly renewing the ſpeedy Conſideration thereof unto her Majeſty's good Remembrance at her good Will and Pleaſure, did further moſt humbly beſeech her Highneſs, in the Name and Behalf of the whole State of the Commons of her Realm, that her Majeſty would (at their moſt humble Suit, the rather) have a vigilant and provident Care of the Safety of her moſt Royal Perſon, againſt the malicious Attempts of ſome mighty foreign Enemies Abroad, and the traiterous Practices of moſt unnatural diſobedient Subjects both Abroad and at Home, envying the bleſſed and moſt happy and quiet Government of this Realm under her Highneſs; upon the Thread of whoſe Life only, next under God, dependeth the Life and whole State and Stay of every her good and dutiful Subjects.' Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'And withal, that it might pleaſe her Highneſs to have ſuch good Care and Regard generally for the Maintenance of Mariners, and of Navigation, the very Strength and Walls of her Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, as may ſeem moſt convenient unto her Highneſs's moſt godly Wiſdom from Time to Time. And ſo declaring, that her Majeſty's Nobles and Commons, having had Conſideration of her Highneſs's great Charges many Ways for Defence of her Realms and People againſt foreign Enemies, and rebellious Subjects, both already employed, and hereafter to be employed, have granted unto her Highneſs one *Subſidy*, and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, which they beſought her Highneſs to accept in good Part according to their humble Duties; and gave her Majeſty moſt humble Thanks for her Highneſs's moſt gracious, general and free Pardon.'

Queen Elizabeth. 1581.

'Which done, the Lord Chancellor by her Majesty's Commandment, answering very excellently and briefly the Parts of Mr. Speaker's Oration, did amongst other Things deliver her Majesty's most hearty Thanks unto both Houses, for their great and good Care for the Safety of her Highness's Person, and also of her Honour, good Fame and Dignity; not yet comprehending within those general Thanks, such Members of the House of Commons as have this Session dealt more rashly in some Things than was fit for them to do; and giving them withal like hearty Thanks for the said Contribution of *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, in that it was granted as willingly and frankly, and also as largely and amply, and to be answered as speedily, as any other like ever hath been; taking the same in as good Part as if it had been to her own private Use; where in very deed it is to be employed to the general Service and Benefit of the whole Realm.'

The Lord Chancellor's Answer.

'Then giving her Royal Assent to fifteen public and fifteen private Bills, (among which was one for the Restitution in Blood of *Philip*, Earl of *Arundele*, eldest Son to the late Duke of *Norfolk*) the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the 24th of *April*.'

We have now another Chain of Adjournments, from Time to Time, of the same Parliament, for three Years more. During this, except the Affair of the still imprison'd Queen of *Scots* which will be treated of in the Sequel, there is nothing to our Purpose. The Prorogations succeeded one another in this Order: From

A. R. 23. *Apr.* 24*th*	to	*A. R.*	*Jan.* 18*th*.
May 29*th*.			*Feb.* 12*th*.
June 12*th*.			*Mar.* 12*th*.
June 28*th*.			*Apr.* 26*th*.
July 27*th*.			*May* 26*th*.
Aug. 22*d*.			*Octr.* 10*th*.
Octr. 5*th*.		25, *Nov.* 30*th*.	
24, *Nov.* 24*th*.			*Jan.* 24.
Dec. 5*th*			*Apr.* 19*th*.

On

On which last mentioned Day, *April* 19th, 1583, the Parliament being met, the Lord Chancellor delivered a Commission from the Queen, directed to himself, and many of the Peers, to the Clerk of Parliament to be read. By which Commission, which is very long, including the Dates of all the Prerogations from the first Session of this Parliament, they were authorized to dissolve it. Accordingly, this Parliament was dissolved, after it had subsisted, in a very unusual Manner, very near eleven Years. Queen Elizabeth, 1583. The Parliament, at last, dissolv'd, after Eighteen more Prorogations.

The unhappy Queen of *Scots* had now been a Prisoner in *England* fifteen Years, under the Custody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, at *Sheffield-Manor*, in *Yorkshire*; but was, about this Time, taken from thence and put under the Custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Dreue Drury*, at *Fotheringhay Castle* in *Northamptonshire*. *Mary* had oftentimes represented the Hardship of this Imprisonment to her Kinswoman *Elizabeth*, but never more pathetically, than in a long Letter she wrote to her, dated at *Sheffield*, *Nov.* 8. 1582. *Camden* hath given us an Abstract of this Letter from the Original *French*, (*q*) in which the poor Prisoner hath represented her miserable Case, in Words that would move a Heart of Adamant. Our Author says, that *Elizabeth* was sensibly touched with this Letter; and that she and her Council had agreed on some Terms, on which *Mary*, might not only be released, but restored to her Kingdom, and have a Share in the Government with her Son. One Article of which was, that *Mary* should forbear to claim any Right to the *English* Crown, during Queen *Elizabeth's* Life; and afterwards, be content to refer the Title of Succession to the Judgment of an *English* Parliament. But all this came to nothing; the unhappy Politics of both Kingdoms, at that Time, of which *Protestantism* was the Basis, made it absolutely necessary that this *Popish* Queen should not only be kept a Prisoner, but even sacrificed for its Security.

As

(*q*) *Kennet's* History of *England*, Vol. II. Page 489.

Queen Elizabeth, 1585.

As to foreign Affairs, the growing Greatneſs of *Spain* was now to be dreaded; the *Pope*, the *Cardinals*, and all the *Italian* Princes, were in that Intereſt. The Houſe of *Auſtria*, alſo, was linked to it; add to this, the late Acquiſition of *Portugal*, with the immenſe Riches of *Mexico* and *Peru*, made *Philip* far more powerful and formidable than ever his Father *Charles* V. was. And, ſince now that *William* Prince of *Orange* and *Francis* Duke of *Anjou* were both dead, if he ſhould once reduce the *Netherlands* under his Power, all the Princes in *Chriſtendom* muſt ſubmit to *Spain*, and to an univerſal Monarchy (*r*).

Whilſt Things were in this Situation Abroad, Queen *Elizabeth* thought proper to call a new Parliament at Home, the Exigences of the Times requiring it. Writs were ſent out for one to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on the 23d Day of *November*, in the 27th Year of this Reign (*s*).

Anno Regni 27. 1585. At Weſtminſter.

The *Journals* of the Lords are now a little more particular in the Recital of their daily Proceedings than of late Years. We are told that, on the Meeting, the Lord Chancellor, *Bromley*, opened the Cauſe of the Summons, by the Queen's Command, being ſeated on the Throne, in a ſhort, but accurate Speech for that Purpoſe (*t*). The Receivers and Tryers of Petitions, according to antient Cuſtom, being appointed, in *French*, the next Day the Commons preſented *John Puckering* Eſq. Serjeant at Law, to the Queen, for their Speaker who, with the uſual Ceremonies, was admitted. No particular Speeches being entered, in either *Journal*, at the Meeting of this Parliament.

John Puckering, Eſq. elected Speaker.

On the 21ſt of *December*, the Queen by her Letters Patents, adjourned the Parliament to the 4th

(*r*) About this Time the Queen publiſhed a Declaration of the Cauſes moving her to give Aid, for the Defence of the People afflicted and oppreſſed in the *Low Countries*. *See* Camden *in Appendice*, Page 654.

(*s*) *Dugdale* has omitted this Summons.

(*t*) ——*brevis* (*nam ita imperatum erat*) *ſed accurata Peroratione.*

4th of *February* following, on account of *Chriſtmaſs Holy-Days.* Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

Two Days before the ſaid Adjournment happened, a remarkable Bill was ſent up by the Commons, entitled, *A Bill againſt* JESUITS, *Seminary Prieſts, and other ſuch diſobedient Perſons.* On the firſt Day of their Meeting, after the Adjournment, this Bill was reaſſumed; and on the firſt Reading in the Houſe of Lords, was committed to a Committee of four Biſhops and nine Temporal Lords. We hear no more of this Bill till *March* the 10*th*, when a Conference was deſired by the Lower houſe with ſome of the Lords about it. On the ſame Day another was ſent up with this Title, *An Act for the Security of her Majeſty's moſt Royal Perſon, and continuing the Realm in Peace.*

March 15*th*, the *Jeſuits'* Bill paſſed the Houſe of Lords with ſome Amendments, agreed to by both Houſes, and afterwards became a Statute *(u)*. By it was enacted, 'That they, and all other *Popiſh* 'Prieſts, ſhould depart the Realm within forty 'Days. That thoſe who ſhould afterwards return 'into the Kingdom, ſhould be guilty of *High-'Treaſon.* That he, who ſhall wittingly and 'willingly harbour, relieve, and maintain them, 'ſhould be guilty of *Felony*; That thoſe *Engliſh* 'who were brought up in Seminaries Abroad, if 'they returned within ſix Months after Notice 'given, and ſubmitted not themſelves to the 'Queen, before a Biſhop or two Juſtices, they 'ſhould be guilty of *High-Treaſon.* And if any, 'ſo ſubmitting themſelves, ſhould within ten 'Years approach the Queen's Court, or come 'within ten Miles there of, their Submiſſion ſhould 'be void. That they, who by any Means what-'ſoever, ſhould ſend or convey over any Money 'to Students in ſuch Seminaries, ſhould incur the 'Penalty of a *Præmunire (x)*. That if any of 'the Peers of the Realm, Dukes, Marquiſſes, 'Vis-

An Act againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, &c.

(u) *Camden* in *Kennet.* Page 503.
(x) That is, perpetual Exile and Loſs of all their Goods.

Queen Elizabeth. 1585. ‘ Viſcounts, or Barons of Parliament, ſhould of-
‘ fend againſt theſe Laws, he ſhould be brought to
‘ his Trial by his Peers. That if any ſhould know
‘ of any ſuch *Jeſuits*, or other Prieſts, above ſaid,
‘ lurking within the Realm, and ſhould not diſco-
‘ ver them within twelve Days, he ſhould be fined
‘ and impriſoned at the Queen's Pleaſure. That
‘ if any Man ſhould be ſuſpected to be a *Jeſuit* or
‘ Prieſt, aforeſaid, and not ſubmit himſelf to Exa-
‘ mination, he ſhould, for his Contempt, be im-
‘ priſoned till he did ſubmit. That he who ſhould
‘ ſend his Children, or any others, to Seminaries
‘ and Colleges of the *Popiſh* Profeſſion, ſhould be
‘ fined one Hundred Pounds *Engliſh* Money: And
‘ that thoſe, who were ſo ſent thither, ſhould not
‘ ſucceed as Heirs, nor enjoy any Eſtates, which
‘ ſhould any Way fall to them; the like for all
‘ ſuch as ſhould not return Home from the ſaid Se-
‘ minaries, within a Year, unleſs they did conform
‘ themſelves to the Church of *England*. That if
‘ the Wardens or Officers of the Ports ſhould per-
‘ mit any others, beſides Seamen or Merchants, to
‘ croſs the Seas, without Licence from the Queen
‘ or ſix Privy-Counſellors, they ſhould be put out
‘ of their Places; and the Maſters of ſuch Ships
‘ as carried them, ſhould forfeit their Ships and
‘ Goods, and ſuffer Impriſonment for a whole
‘ Year.’

It muſt be allow'd that the Policy of this Act is worthy the Contrivance of a *Cecil* and a *Walſingham*, the two principal Miniſters of this Reign. By it, *Popery* was not only eradicated and driven out of the Kingdom, but every Cranny ſtopp'd up to prevent its Return. *Camden* informs us that the Bill met with no Oppoſition, in either Houſe, but, only, from one Member of the Commons. This Man's Name was *William Parry*, a *Welchman*, and a Civilian; who, pleading againſt it, ſaid, that *it was a cruel, bloody and deſperate Law, and would be of pernicious Conſequence to the* Engliſh *Nation*. Being deſired to ſhew his Reaſons, he obſtinately refuſed, unleſs it was before the Queen's

Queen's Council. Upon this he was taken into Custody; but, his Reasons being afterwards heard, and Submission made, he was admitted again into the House. Tho', this zealous Man had better have held his Tongue; for, very soon after, he was accused of being in a Plot to subvert the Government, and take away the Queen's Life; was found guilty and executed, as a Traitor for it, before the Palace-Gate at *Westminster*, whilst the Parliament was yet sitting (*y*). Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

Another strong Bulwark was framed this Parliament, for Support of the present Government; and that was a Bill mentioned before, for the Surety of the Queen's Royal Person, and the Continuance of Peace in the Realm. This was a Stroke, aimed, directly, at the Queen of *Scots* and her Title, and whoever durst attempt to set it up. It was read a third Time in the House of Lords and passed, *March* the 13*th*; and by it an *Association*, as it is here called, was established; the first of this Kind we have yet met with. Thereby it was enacted,

An Act for the Surety of the Queen's Person.

'That Twenty four, or more, of the Privy-'Council and House of Lords, to be deputed by 'the Queen's Commission, should make Inquisition 'after all such as should invade the Kingdom, raise 'Rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the 'Queen's Person, for or by whomsoever em-'ployed that might lay Claim to the Crown of '*England*. And that the Person, for whom or 'by whom they should attempt the same, should 'be utterly uncapable of any Title to the Crown, 'be deprived wholly of all Right to it, and pro-'secuted to Death by all faithful Subjects; if the 'Person should be judged, by these Twenty four 'Men, to be guilty of such Rebellion, Invasion, 'or treasonable Attempt, and by publick Procla-'mation so declared.'

These severe Laws, which however, says *Camden*, the Necessities of the Times required, drove

(*y*) See *Camden*, Page 501, &c. Also, a long Account of this Conspiracy and *Parry's* Confession, &c. in *Hollingshead's Chronicle*, from Page 1384, to 1395.

Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

the *Catholics* here to very great Straits; many of them ſtole out of the Kingdom; and, if the Laws had been put in full Execution againſt them, in all Probability, we ſhould not have had one antient *Popiſh* Family reſiding in it at this Day. But, afterwards, when *their Sovereign* was taken off, Matters went eaſier with them, and they were ſuffered to live unmoleſted for the reſt of this Reign.

But, there was then another Party in the Kingdom whom it was neceſſary to guard againſt, and that was the *Puritans:* The Queen was very well acquainted with their Principles; but the nobler Game of *Popery*, being then in full Cry to be hunted down, theſe were tolerated becauſe they readily joined in the Purſuit. And many of the Members having imbib'd their Tenets, which the Queen herſelf, in her Speech, at the End of this Seſſion, calls *New-frangledneſs*, a Bill was propoſed and paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, plainly tending to reform the Church, much further than it had hitherto been carried.

How long, or what Debates had been in that Houſe about this Bill, will beſt appear in their *Journal*; for it was not till the latter End of this Seſſion that it was ſent up to the Lords, where we find it under this broken Title, *Die Martis* 28° *Martii, Hodie allata eſt a Dom. Com.*

'An Act . . . . . of a Statute made 'Anno 13. of the Queen's Majeſty's Reign, enti-
Bill for a further Reformation in the Church. 'tled, An Act to reform certain Diſorders touching Miniſters of the Church. *Quæ prima Vice lecta eſt.*'

What the Blank was to be filled up with is left to the Reader's Judgment; but ſince it was quaſhed at the firſt Reading in this Houſe, for it is not mentioned again, it is probable the Title was left ſo blind, in order to diſguiſe it to Poſterity. The Act made in the 13th Year of this Reign, for Reforming Abuſes in the Church, is explained before in the Courſe of this Volume (*y*). It was then made againſt the *Puritans*; but now they thought they had

(*y*) See before Page 101.

had Power enough to turn it againſt the Church. Mr. *Camden's* own Account of this Attempt will beſt juſtify the Aſſertion. This Author writes that (z) Queen Elizabeth. 1785.

'In this Parliament ſome there were, who, out 'of a Deſire either of Innovation or Reforma- 'tion, ſtruck deeply at the Eccleſiaſtical Order, 'though the Queen had forbid it. By bringing in 'of Bills for reſtraining the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction 'in granting of Faculties; in conferring holy Or- 'ders; in Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, and in the Oath 'ex *Officio*. Propoſing a new Oath to be taken by 'the Biſhops in the Chancery and the King's Bench, 'viz. that they ſhould act nothing contrary to the 'common Law of *England*. They, alſo, requi- 'red Reſidence from the Clergy, that every Mini- 'ſter ſhould be reſident at his own Cure; and ex- 'claimed againſt the Church of *England* as if it 'was deſtitute of able and learned Paſtors, which 'without Doubt, had more learned Paſtors, at 'this Preſent, than any other Age or any other 'Reformed Church could ſhew. But the Queen, 'who had a high Eſteem for moderate Church- 'men, miſliked Innovators, as always chang- 'ing for the worſe, as tending to overthrow her 'Prerogative, and the Supreme Authority granted 'to her in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.'——— Thus far the *Hiſtorian* of this Reign.

On the 13*th* of *March*, the Commons ſent up a Grant of a Supply to her Majeſty, conſiſting of one entire *Subſidy*, which was Two Shillings and Eight Pence on Goods, and Four Shillings on Lands, according to *Stowe* (a); and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. On the ſecond Reading the Lords dropped the *Tenths*; and it was paſſed ſo by the printed Statutes. An Act for a Subſidy of ſix Shillingn in the Pound, from the Clergy, to be paid in three Years, was, alſo, confirmed this Seſſion. A Subſidy.

There are alſo ſeveral Tryals, on Appeals, entered in the Lord's *Journals*, but none of them to

(z) *Camden* in *Kennet*, Page 503.
(a) *Stowe's* Chron. Page 702.

Queen Elizabeth, 1585.

our Purpose. Nor is there any Thing else material to the last Day of the Session, which we shall postpone to see what the Commons were doing.

The first Bill of Moment read in that House, was, for the better and more reverend Observance of the Sabbath-Day. *Nov.* 27*th*, this Bill was committed to a large Number of Members, there named, to consider of it; who, we find, framed a new one, which was read; but did not pass the two Houses without much Dispute and great Difficulty; Amendments upon Amendments being added to it.

A Bill for the better Observation of the Sabbath.

Nov. 28*th*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, taking Occasion to speak of the sudden Calling of this Parliament, at such an unseasonable Time of the Year, and the Likelihood of the short Continuance of it, did thereupon declare the same to be called for very urgent and necessary Causes.

Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, spake next; and, as it seems, much to the same Effect as the Chancellor; but both these Speeches are omitted in the *Journals*, though they lasted above two Hours. At the End of which a Committee was appointed to consider of a Supply.

Notwithstanding the Queen's Injunctions to the contrary, yet this House could not forbear to enter still deeper into Religious Matters; and on *Decem.* 14*th*, three Petitions were read touching the Liberty of godly Preachers, to exercise and continue their Ministry; and also, for the speedy Supply of able and sufficient Men into divers Places, now destitute of the ordinary Means of Salvation. But though the further Proceedings in this were deferred to a more convenient Time by the House, yet, one Dr. *Turner* rose up and put the House in Mind of a Bill with a Book which he had offered to them; and, as he said, this Bill and Book being framed by certain godly and learned Ministers, tending, as he conceived, to the Glory of God, the Safety of her Majesty, and the Good of the Com-

Common-Wealth; therefore prayed that it might be read. To this, Sir *Francis Knolles* replied, but in few Words; and after him Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* more largely; who preſſed and moved the Houſe ſo much therein, that it was at length reſolved that the ſaid Bill and Book ſhould not be read. And, as to all neceſſary Liberty to the aforeſaid Miniſters or a Supply of able Men in Places that wanted, it was not doubted but that her Majeſty would take ſome ſpeedy Order about them. Then Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* moved that for the better and more ſpeedy Expedition of other great Matters now in Hand, the Houſe would proceed to the Reading of a Bill, lately finiſhed, for the Safety and Preſervation of the Queen's Royal Perſon. And the rather becauſe he conceived they would ſhortly be adjourned till after *Chriſtmas*.' Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

By ſuch Evaſions as theſe, the Courtiers found Means to prevent the zealous Part of the Houſe from going upon Matters ſo very diſagreeable to the Queen.

But, being prevented in this, their Zeal was the more turned to the utter Extirpation of *Popery* out of the Kingdom. The Bill againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and ſuch like diſobedient Subjects was carried through this Houſe with great Vigour. It paſſed with little or no Oppoſition, but from Dr. *Parry*, mentioned before. The *Journals* of the Commons are more particular, than the *Hiſtorian* before quoted, about this Affair, which we ſhall give in their own Words as follows;

'The Bill, upon the Reading, paſſed the Houſe with little or no Argument, except it were from one Dr. *Parry*, who in very violent Terms ſpake directly againſt the whole Bill; affirming it to ſavour of Treaſons, to be full of Blood, Danger, Deſpair, and Terror or Dread to the *Engliſh* Subjects of this Realm, our Brethren, Uncles, and Kinsfolks; and alſo full of Confiſcations, but unto whom? Not, ſaid he, to her Majeſty, (which he wiſhed they were) and ſaid, he did not think the contrary but that Zeal would cauſe the Bill to

Dr. Parry violently oppoſes the Bill againſt Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, &c.

Queen Elizabeth. 1585. have Paſſage both in this Houſe and with the Lords; but yet he hoped when it ſhould come into her Highneſs's moſt merciful Hands, that it would ſtay and reſt there; until which Time (he ſaid) he would reſerve his Reaſons of his negative Voice againſt the Bill, then to be diſcovered by him only unto her Majeſty.'

'Whereupon Dr. *Parry*, by Order of this Houſe, was appointed to be ſequeſtred into the outer Room of this Houſe into the Serjeant's Cuſtody, and without conferring with any, whilſt the Matter now in Queſtion, concerning his former Speeches againſt the Bill laſt paſſed, is in Debating or Arguing, until he ſhall be called in again. And afterwards, being brought to the Bar, and there kneeling upon his Knee, he was told by Mr. Speaker in the Name of the whole Houſe, That if he thought good, the Houſe was contented to hear him what Reaſons he could yield for himſelf in Maintenance of his ſaid Speeches againſt the aforeſaid Bill, to the better Satisfaction of this Houſe; or what other Matter of Excuſe he could alledge touching his former Contempt, uttered in the Preſence of this ſaid Houſe, in very unſeemly Manner, and in unfitting Words, in that he did ſpeak ſo directly, reproachfully and abſolutely againſt a Bill, firſt travelled in, and publickly allowed of in the Houſe; and then conſiderately and maturely peruſed and digeſted by ſo great and grave a Committee, ſelected and framed out of the ableſt Members of this Houſe, who having further diligently and dutifully laboured therein, and brought it again into the Houſe with one unanimous Approbation of it as of a good and neceſſary Bill; and that, laſtly, it had been alſo ſo approved of this Day, and upon the third Reading had paſſed the Houſe; and yet, that he, the ſaid Dr. *Parry*, had termed the ſaid Bill to be a Bill favouring of Treaſons, and to be full of Confiſcations, Blood, Danger, Deſpair, and Terror to the Subjects of this Realm; and withal, that he would well prove and juſtify the ſame by good Reaſons, which nevertheleſs (he ſaid) he would not deliver,

deliver to this Houſe; but would reſerve them only to be revealed to her Majeſty. Whereupon being further demanded, as aforeſaid, What further Excuſe or Defence he could make for himſelf? He anſwered, That what he had ſaid (and bound it with a Proteſtation) was without any Intent of Offence towards the Queen's Majeſty (to whom he owed all dutiful Obedience) or towards the Houſe; and made Repetition of his ſaid former Words, and ſtill avowed the Juſtification of the ſame. And ſo entring into ſome Declaration of his own Eſtate tending altogether to his own Credit, as of his ſundry good Services done to her Majeſty, his Reputation with Perſons of good Sort, and other ſuch like Speeches in his own Commendation; concluded in the End, that as before when he ſpake to the Bill, and gave his negative Voice to the ſame, he then concealed his ſaid Reaſons from this Houſe, ſo he would now conceal the ſame ſtill.' Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

'Whereupon being ſequeſtred again, it was reſolved, That for that he did ſpeak to the Bill, and gave his negative Voice ſo directly and undutifully, and in Contempt of this Houſe would not ſhew his Reaſons for the ſame, being merely againſt the ancient Orders and Uſage of this High Court, and not for that he ſaid he would ſhew them only to be diſcovered to her Majeſty, it was reſolved, That he ſhould be committed to the Serjeant's Ward till the Matter ſhall be further conſidered of by this Houſe, the Day being then very far ſpent.'

'The next Day Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declared unto the Houſe, that her Majeſty having been made privy unto the Misbehaviour of Doctor *Parry* Yeſterday ſhewed in this Houſe, and of the Order of this Houſe taken therein with him for the ſame; her Highneſs doth not only deem him to have given juſt Cauſe of Offence unto this Houſe in the ſame his Miſdemeanor, but alſo doth very well allow of the grave Diſcretion of this Houſe, in forbearing for the Time to uſe any ſharp Courſe of Correction againſt him for his ſaid Offence: in reſpect that he had ſaid he reſerved his Reaſons to be

Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

be imparted to her Majesty only; which as he had discovered unto some of the Lords of the Council by her Highness Appointment, and that partly to the Satisfaction of her Majesty, so her Highness did think, that upon his humble Submission unto this House, with a dutiful Acknowledgement of his Fault, this House would the rather dispense with him therein.'

'Which done, Doctor *Parry* was called to the Bar, where humbly acknowledging his Fault upon his Knees, it was told him by Mr. Speaker, after he had put him in Remembrance of the Manner of his Offence, that it might be the House would nevertheless deal favourably with him, if they should see such Cause upon his unfeigned and earnest Confession and Repentance of his Fault, and his humble Submission unto the House, with good and dutiful Endeavour of Amendment hereafter. And then kneeling upon his Knee in very humble Manner, affirmed directly, that he had very undutifully misbehaved himself, and had rashly and unadvisedly uttered those Speeches he used, and was with all his Heart very sorry for it; alledging withal, that he had never been of this House before this Session, and so could not so well know the Orders of the House as he should do; and that he would not willingly offend this House, nor any Man in it; and so humbly prayed their good Favour towards him.'

'Whereupon being sequestred again out of the House, it was, after some Arguments and Speeches had, resolved, That upon that his said Acknowledgement of his Fault, and his humble Submission, he should be received into this House again as a Member of the same, and take his Place as before, so that he would afterwards use himself in good Sort as he ought to do. And thereupon being called again to the Bar, and there kneeling upon his Knee, and directly reiterating his former Confession of his Fault, and also, his former humble Submission; protesting further, that if ever after he should give any just Cause of Offence again to this

this Houſe, or any Member thereof, he would then never after crave any more Favour of them.' Queen Elizabeth, 1585.

'Whereupon Mr. Speaker declared the good Pleaſure of this Houſe in remitting his ſaid Offence by receiving him again into them, with Condition and Hope of his better Behaviour hereafter. Which as he profeſſed and promiſed to perform accordingly, ſo did he in very good dutiful Sort, give moſt humble Thanks unto God, and to her Majeſty, and alſo unto this whole Houſe, and to every Member of the ſame, for their good, courteous, and favourable Dealing towards him in this Behalf.' ——— But the Affair had a more tragical End after *Chriſtmas*, as hath been before related.

The 19*th* of *December*, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declared unto the Houſe, That her Majeſty conſidering the great Pains and faithful Travels of that Houſe in the Service of Affairs in the Realm, had determined to adjourn the Parliament to ſome other convenient Time after *Chriſtmaſs*; that ſuch Gentlemen and other Members of this Houſe might the more conveniently repair to their own Home, in the mean Time, for their better Eaſe and Recreation. On which it was reſolved that the moſt humble and dutiful Thanks of this Houſe be returned to her Majeſty, for this her moſt gracious Conſideration, and for her grateful Acceptation of their dutiful Care for Providing for the Security of her Royal Perſon. The Parliament adjourned.

'To this Addreſs of Thanks Mr. Vice-Chamberlain returned the following Anſwer; in which he did very eloquently and very earneſtly ſet forth her Majeſty's moſt princely, gracious and kind Acceptation of the humble and moſt dutiful Thankfulneſs of this Houſe, ſo preſented unto her Highneſs, to her right great and high Satisfaction, Joy, and Comfort; and declared withal, that her Highneſs did for the ſame give moſt hearty and loving Thanks unto this whole Houſe, yea, and that in Redoubling to them their Thanks ten Thouſand Thouſand-fold; and ſo further, very excellently, amply; and aptly, ſhewed both the ready, careful, The Queen's Anſwer to an Addreſs of Thanks from the Houſe.

Queen Elizabeth. 1585. and obedient Affections of this whole Houſe to the dutiful Service of her Majeſty, and alſo on the other Side, her Highneſs's incomparable Princely Account and Regard of all ſuch loyal, loving, and faithful Subjects; and concluded, that her Majeſty's Pleaſure was, that this Houſe ſhould well know, that in the Conſideration of the free Courſe of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt* amongſt us, our long continued Peace, and Plenty of God's good Bleſſings and Benefits beſtowed upon us under the Miniſtry of her Highneſs, her Majeſty doth moſt ſincerely aſcribe all the ſame, only and wholly, to the great Goodneſs and Mercy of Almighty God; attributing the Cauſe of theſe good Effects (next under God's Providence) to the good Demerits of ſo religious, godly, and obedient Subjects, of whom how well and kindly her Majeſty doth think and conceive, her Highneſs had much rather have told them in her own moſt Royal Perſon, than have ſignified it unto them by any other, if it might have conveniently been ſo done, as upon the Opportunity of a Prorogation or Diſſolution of this Court. And further declared, that her Majeſty, having Regard to the great Charges and Expences of their Attendance in the Service of this great Council of the Realm, wiſheth them at their next Meeting again, to beſtow the Time as much as may be, in publick and general Actions, fitteſt for the Common-Weal of this Realm, and that with as little Loſs of Time as may be. And withal, that thoſe of this Houſe towards the Law, would join together to do their beſt Endeavours to deviſe ſome good Laws to abridge and cut off the long and tedious Courſes, and extreme chargeable Circuits, and ſuperfluous Delays of Suits in Law; not doubting but that in ſo doing God will bleſs their Wealth and good Eſtates, both in themſelves and in their Poſterity. And ſo having, as he thought, dutifully imparted unto them the Sum and Subſtance of her Majeſty's Pleaſure, and Meſſage committed unto this Houſe by him, though not in ſuch effectual and ſingular Kind, Terms and Forms as her Princely

Princely Wiſdom delivered the ſame unto him; and ſo referring himſelf to the Reſidue of this Houſe of her Majeſty's Council, then and now preſent, to be put in Remembrance by them, if he have omitted any Part thereof, and they affirming he had not, he ended his Speech.' Queen Elizabeth 1585.

But, to ſhew the Taſte of theſe Times, and the Piety of the Courtiers of thoſe Days ſtill the more; on the 21*ſt* of *December*, when the Parliament was adjourned from that Day to the 4*th* of *February* following, 'The ſaid Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, ſtood up again, and putting the Houſe in Mind of her Majeſty's moſt Princely and loving Kindneſſes, ſignified unto this Houſe, in the former Meſſages and Declarations of her Highneſs's thankful Acceptations of the dutiful Cares and Travels of this Houſe in the Service of her Majeſty and the Realm, moved the Houſe, 'That beſides the Rendring of our moſt humble and loyal Thanks unto her Highneſs, we do, being aſſembled altogether, join our Hearts and Minds together in moſt humble and earneſt Prayer unto Almighty God, for the long Continuance of the moſt proſperous Preſervation of her Majeſty, with moſt due and thankful Acknowledgement of his infinite Benefits and Bleſſings, poured upon this whole Realm, through the Mediation of her Highneſs's Miniſtry under him. And he ſaid, he had a Paper in Writing in his Hand, deviſed and ſet down by an honeſt, godly, and learned Man, and which, albeit it was not very well written, yet he would willingly read it as well as he could, if it pleaſed them to follow and ſay after him, as he ſhould begin and ſay before them. Which being aſſented unto moſt willingly of all the whole Houſe, and every one kneeling upon his Knees, the ſaid Mr. Vice-Chamberlain begun the ſaid Prayer. Which being ended, every one departed away for that Time, until the ſaid Day of Adjournment.' Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's Prayer in the Houſe on that Occaſion.

At which Time this Parliament being met again we find nothing in their Proceedings, to our Purpoſe; the firſt Days of their Sitting being taken up with a long Diſpute between the two Houſes about the

Queen Elizabeth. 1585. the Form of paſſing a Bill to prevent fraudulent Conveyances; and another, for the better Obſervance of the Sabbath-Day. And, it was not till *Feb.* 23*d*, that the Houſe of Commons took into Conſideration the State of the Nation. The Dangers which were imminent over the Kingdom, and the Means to prevent them; the great Expences her Majeſty had been at, *&c.* In which theſe following Particulars are obſerved.

The Commons take into Conſideration the State of the Nation.

'The open Dangers threatned to this Kingdom are from *Spain*, the *Pope* and the holy League in *France*; the ſecret from the *Jeſuits*, that ſecretly lurked here to ſtir up her Majeſty's Subjects of the *Roman* Religion to all Manner of Treaſon and Rebellion: Both which Dangers though the Time of them were a while intermitted in reſpect of the Execution, yet the Purpoſe was not; which their late Conſpiracies and Attempts both here and in *Ireland* did plainly ſhew.'

'The Means to prevent theſe Dangers were to ſuppreſs the Spreading of *Jeſuits* and the Growing of *Popery*; to exact ſuch Oaths of the *Papiſts* as had been already ordained; to provide for the Preſervation of her Majeſty's Perſon; to terrify *Ireland*, and to provide ſufficient Forces at Home both by Land and Sea.'

'The great Expence that her Majeſty had been at, even ſince the laſt Parliament, did appear plainly in reſpect of divers Places and Forts which had been repaired, much Powder and Munition had been ſtored up, and her Navy alſo ſince that Time increaſed: Beſides many other extraordinary Charges and Expences which ſhe had been at, in the Aſſiſting of her Allies, and the Preſerving of *Ireland*; and that her Majeſty did ſpecially ſhun Danger from *Ireland*, of which they conceived this Proverb to be true, *Look to* Ireland *if we will reſt quiet in* England. And therefore ſome Members, of the Privy-Council, did move to think of what Supply were now fit to be given to her Majeſty towards the Supporting and Suſtaining of all her ſaid great Expences and Charges.'

On

On the next Day a Motion being made for a Supply to be granted to her Majesty, a large Committee of the Commons were appointed to meet and draw up a Bill for that Purpose; which was mentioned, before, in our Account of the Lords. Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

But the old Topic of *Reformation* was again started in the Commons; and since they were prohibited from Addressing the Queen in that Matter, they thought proper to make their Application to the Bishops and Lords of the upper House, by Way of Petition (*b*).

'Nothing of any Moment happen'd till the last Day of this Session, *March* the 29*th*, when the Queen came to the House of Lords; and the Commons attending, the Speaker after his humble Reverence made, and some Expressions of his Thankfulness to her Majesty, proceeded according to the usual Course, to desire her Majesty to give Life to such Laws, by adding her gracious, Allowance unto them, as had passed either House, and remained as yet but as a dead Letter; and withal, gave her Majesty Knowledge of the free Gift of the House of Commons, of one *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*.' A Subsidy.

'To which Speech of the said Prolocutor's the Lord Chancellor, by her Majesty's Commandment, answered, That she did graciously accept of the said Gift of her Commons, and was come thither to give her Royal Assent to divers of those Laws which had passed the two Houses.'

There is no Speech entered in the Journal of either House, made by the Speaker at this Time; nor does Sir *Symonds Dewes* supply it from any other Authority. We are obliged to Mr. *Strype* however, for bringing one to Light, from the Manuscript Collections in the *Burleigh* Family, belonging,

(*b*) This Petition of the Commons, with the Answer on the Part of the Bishops, may be seen at large in *Dewes's* Journals, Pag. 357 *et seq.* And for the Petitions and Remonstrances at large, from the Puritans themselves, to the Queen and Parliament, the Reader may consult *Strype's* Annals, in the Appendix to his third Volume; such over-tedious Affairs being not consistent with the Design of this History.

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ing, originally, to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*. Whence it may be strongly inferr'd, that Serjeant *Puckering* only lent his Voice to that great Statesman, and that the other directed his Tongue what to say on the Occasion. An Art in Politics which, no doubt, hath been practised many Times since those Days.

The Speaker's Speech to the Queen at the Close of the Session.

Most Excellent Prince and Gracious Queen,

'THE last Time of my being in this Place before your most excellent Majesty, and this Honourable Assembly of your three Estates, I did make my most humble Submission and Request, upon the Knowledge of my Disability and Unworthiness, that I might have been forborn to have occupied in this Place. But such was your Majesty's gracious Opinion, as it seemed, conceived of me upon the Election of your faithful and obedient Subjects, the whole Commonalty of your Realm; that I was thereto directed. And as then I best knowing mine own Insufficiences did, for my Excuse, desire your Majesty's gracious Acceptation of that which was only in my Power; which was of my good Will, Diligence, and Endeavour to be bestowed in this Service: So now, if I should not acknowledge in this Place, (having here in my Company so many Witnesses against me) the Multitude of Imperfections, that I have found in myself, during the Time of this my Service, I should shew myself to be over partial to mine own Cause, and, in some sort, to be void of Modesty. But knowing your Majesty's accustomed Goodness, to accept the good Wills and Endeavours of all Men in your Services, without any strait Regard or Account of the Events or Successes of their Actions; and therewith having also had, at this Time of Session of Parliament, daily Proofs of the favourable Toleration of my Lacks, by grave, wise, and experimented Persons and the good Will generally of the whole Body of your *Commons* towards me, in their quiet

'quiet Allowance of my Service; I am the bolder, Queen Elizabeth. 1585.
'throwing behind my Back these my Lacks
'and Wants, as Things not now to be imputed
'to me; and am to present myself in your Ma-
'jesty's Sight according to my Office, as a Person
'allow'd by your Majesty's Goodness only, and
'not by my Deserts; and so to proceed to present
'to your Majesty, in the Name of all your *Com-*
'*mons*, First, our most humble Thanks for the
'Benefits that we have received by your Majesty's
'Permission, to have this Assembly so long con-
'tinued: Secondly, our like humble Requests for
'Pardon of any Thing, which through Ignorance,
'without any Intention of Offence, in our Con-
'sultations might be, by your Majesty's great
'Wisdom, imputed to us. And lastly, I am also,
'in their Names, to exhibit our most humble and
'earnest Petitions to your Majesty, to give Life
'to the Works not of our Hands, but of our
'Minds, Cogitations and Hearts: Which other-
'wise than being lightened by the Beams of your
'Favour, shall be but vain, dumb, and dead.

'For the first I do confess, that in the
'Name of all your *Commons* here assembled,
'and so I may presume to add the like for
'the Lords here assembled in your Majesty's Pre-
'sence, we cannot imagine, how your Ma-
'jesty can bestow a greater Benefit, that can de-
'serve more Thanks of your Subjects universally,
'than that your Majesty, as you have heretofore
'at many Times, so now especially in this Time,
'when our Necessity, for many Respects required
'the same, summoned your whole Realm, by
'calling your Estates together to this Parliament,
'to consult freely, and at great Leisure, what
'were first meet for the Furtherance and Advance-
'ment of God's Service, by which we only have
'our Being; and what were also necessary for
'the Preservation of your Majesty's Person, by
'whose long Life and Continuance we are kept
'free from the Tyranny and Subjection of Foreign
'Oppression. And lastly, to devise among our-

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'ſelves, and provide not only as ſhould be, both 'in general and particular, good and profitable 'for our own Eſtates, but alſo to foreſee how to 'avoid Things hurtful to the ſame; to which 'good End we do acknowledge that, by your 'Majeſty's Goodneſs and Permiſſion, our Aſſembly 'now hath tended. And for that Good which 'we are to receive thereby, we do yield to your 'Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks; beſeeching 'God to grant to your Majeſty many happy 'Years, above the Term of our Lives. That as 'we have already, ſo after us our Poſterity may 'receive the like Benefits of your Goodneſs from 'Time to Time, as Cauſe ſhall require; to pro-'cure to themſelves by good Laws under your 'Government like Means to live in ſuch Peace, 'Happineſs and Wealth, as we have done, from 'the Beginning of your Reign: And as our Fore-'fathers never did the like with ſuch Continuance.

'Secondly, After theſe our Thanks, moſt 'humbly preſented upon our Knees, we do both 'in general and particular, humbly beſeech your 'Majeſty to give your accuſtomed gracious Inter-'pretations to all our Proceedings. Wherein if 'any Speeches, Motions, or Petitions have paſt 'from us, that might have miſcontented your 'Majeſty in your great Wiſdom above our Capa-'cities; I can aſſure your Majeſty, that in this As-'ſembly, wherein I was always preſent, there 'was never found in any Speech, private or pub-'lick, any Argument or Token of the Mind of 'any Perſon that ſhewed any Intention to be offen-'ſive to your Majeſty. And for Proof hereof 'when it pleaſed your Majeſty to direct me to 'declare your Pleaſure to the Commons Houſe, 'in what Sort you would they ſhould ſtay 'any further Debating of the Manner of Re-'formation of ſuch Things as they thought 'might be reformed in the Church, I found them 'all generally and particularly, ready to obey 'your Majeſty's Pleaſure therein: Which as it

'ſeemed

'seemed to me, and so I have Cause to persuade with myself, they did. For that it was well understood, that your Majesty, as having by God's Ordinance a Supreme Authority for that Purpose, had straitly charged the Archbishops, Bishops, and your whole Clergy now assembled in their Convocation, to have due Regard to see to the Reformation of divers Abuses in the Government and Discipline of the Church. And so our firm Hope is, that your Majesty will, by your strait Commandment to your Clergy, continue your Care to see, and command, that such Abuses as are crept into the Church by the Negligence of the Ministers, may be speedily reformed, to the Honour of Almighty God, and to your own immortal Praise, and Comfort of your Subjects. Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

'The next Matter whereof I have to speak, is 'most humbly to request your Majesty to yield 'your Royal Assent to such *Petitions*, both general 'and particular, as have been upon long Deliberation determined and conceived in Writing, with 'uniform Consent of the Lords Spiritual and 'Temporal, and us your *Commons*, in this your 'Parliament assembled. Wherein your Majesty 'shall do no less than pertaineth to the Authority 'which you have like to God Almighty: Who 'as he giveth Life and Being to all his Creatures, 'great and small, so your Majesty shall give Life 'and Continuance to the Fruits of our Consultations, as well to the small as to the great. 'Without which your Royal Assent with your 'own Breath, the same shall become without Life 'and Sense, and all our Labours therein lost, 'and our Expectations therein made frustrate. 'And tho' in your Majesty's princely Sight many 'of those our Petitions may seem to be of mean 'Value, either because they be, some of them, 'particular; or because the Matters of some of 'them may seem to be of low and base Degree: 'Yet considering of them to whom they belong, 'the same are of as great Importance and Benefit,

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'as to greater Eſtates greater Matters are: And 'the Lack of the Benefits which to them may 'grow thereby, ſhall be as grievous, as the Lack 'of greater in greater Bodies: And as in every 'natural Body, the meaneſt Parts and Members 'are by the Head regarded as beneficial, for one 'Means or other, to the reſt of the whole Body: 'So we with all Humbleneſs, in the Name of the 'whole Body, do beſeech your Majeſty, as our 'only Head, and Fountain of our Life, to accept 'the meaneſt Petitions for the Comforts of the 'Parts of the Body, to whom the ſame may be-'long: As we know your Majeſty, of your Cle-'mency, is accuſtomed with your moſt gracious 'Eyes and Countenance, to comfort daily your 'baſeſt and pooreſt Subjects, ſeeking Relief at 'your Feet.

'Next to this we do offer to your Majeſty with 'our whole Hearts, our Bodies and Lives, to be 'ſerviceable to the Safety of your Majeſty's noble 'Perſon. For Defence whereof, and for Revenge 'of any Act imaginate againſt your Majeſty, we 'have by a Form of Law, if it ſhall like your 'Majeſty to aſſent thereto, given a Teſtimony to 'the whole World, how dear the Safety of your 'Life is to us. And this I do aſſure your Majeſty, 'that we, your moſt loving Subjects, were moſt 'willing to have extended this Ordinance to a far 'ſtraiter Courſe, as we thought the ſame meet 'for your Safety, and for terrifying of all Perſons 'not well-willing to you; if otherwiſe we had 'not underſtood, that your Majeſty's Pleaſure 'was, that it ſhould not be extended to any ſtraiter 'Points than it is.

'And as your Majeſty hath a manifeſt Demon-'ſtration hereby of our Hearts and Minds, ſo alſo 'we have added (for a further outward Declara-'tion thereof by our Deeds, offered to your Ma-'jeſty of our voluntary Minds) a ſmall Portion 'out of thoſe Wordly Goods which God hath 'given us, and by the long Peace under your 'bleſſed Government we have encreaſed; by

'Way

'Way of a Subsidy, and two Fifteenths, to be used by your Majesty, as in former Times you have always done, for the Defence of this your Realm, and us your humble Subjects. Which tho' we know shall not amount to the Value that percase shall be needful for the Defence of your Realms, Dominions and Subjects, against all Attempts that may be ministred by the Enemies of God, and of your Majesty; yet your Majesty may make an assured Account, that, besides this our Offer, you cannot lack a further Supply of the rest that we have, to be spent, or committed to your Direction, as Cause shall require. Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

'Lastly, Upon our Knees we do most humbly yield our hearty Thanks for your most gracious and free general Pardon: Whereby a great Multitude of your Subjects are to be relieved of divers Pains and Penalties: which by the Order of your Laws your Majesty might most justly have inflicted upon them. By which your Clemency we all shall take Occasion, besides our Thankfulness for so great a Benefit, to endeavour ourselves more carefully to observe your Laws, both to the Honour of God, and to the Comfort of your Majesty; and, finally to the Maintenance of Peace, Tranquillity and Concord among ourselves.'

The Royal Assent being given to thirty Public Acts and thirteen Private, her Majesty, in Person made the following Speech to both Houses of Parliament (c).

My Lords and ye of the Lower House,

The Queen's Speech at proroguing the Parliament.

MY Silence must not injure the Owner so much as to suppose a Substitute sufficient to render you the Thanks that my Heart yieldeth you, not so much for the safe Keeping of my Life, for which your Care appears so manifest, as for the Neglecting your private future Peril, not regarding other way than my present State.

(c) *Camden* in *Appendice*, page 670. *Stowe's Chron.* pag. 701. *Dewes*, 328. *Hollingshead*, pag. 1396, &c.

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No Prince herein, I confeſs, can be ſurer tied or faſter bound than I am with the Link of your Good-Will, and can for that but yield a Heart and a Head to ſeek for ever all your beſt; yet one Matter toucheth me ſo near, as I may not overſkip, Religion, the Ground on which all other Matters ought to take Root, and being corrupted, may marr all the Tree. And that there be ſome Fault-finders with the Order of the Clergy, which ſo may make a Slander to myſelf and the Church, whoſe over-Ruler God hath made me; whoſe Negligence cannot be excuſed, if any Schiſms or Errors heretical were ſuffered. Thus much I muſt ſay, that ſome Faults and Negligences may grow and be, as in all other great Charges it happeneth, and what Vocation without? All which if you my Lords of the Clergy do not amend, I mean to depoſe you. Look ye therefore well to your Charges. This may be amended without heedleſs or open Exclamations. I am ſuppoſed to have many Studies, but moſt philoſophical. I muſt yield this to be true, that I ſuppoſe few (that be no Profeſſors) have read more. And I need not tell you, that I am ſo ſimple that I underſtand not, nor ſo forgetful that I remember not; and yet amidſt my many Volumes, I hope God's Book hath not been my ſeldomeſt Lectures, in which we find that which by Reaſon (for my Part) we ought to believe; that ſeeing ſo great Wickedneſs and Greeves in the World in which we live, but as Wayfaring Pilgrims, we muſt ſuppoſe that God would never have made us but for a better Place, and of more Comfort than we find here. I know no Creature that breatheth, whoſe Life ſtandeth hourly in more Peril for it than mine own, who entred not into my State without Sight of manifold Dangers of Life and Crown, as one that had the mightieſt and greateſt to wreſtle with. Then it followeth that I regarded it ſo much, as I left my Life behind my Care; and ſo you ſee that you wrong me too much (if any ſuch there be) as doubt my Coldneſs in that Behalf; for if I were not perſuaded that mine were the true Way of God's Will, God forbid that I ſhould live to preſcribe it

it to you. Take you heed leſt Eccleſiaſtes *ſay not too true*, They that fear the hoary Froſt, the Snow ſhall fall upon them. *I ſee many over-bold with God Almighty, making too many ſubtle Scannings of his bleſſed Will, as Lawyers do with human Teſtaments. The Preſumption is ſo great, as I may not ſuffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate* Romaniſts, *which what Adverſaries they be to mine Eſtate, is ſufficiently known) nor tolerate* New-fanglidneſs. *I mean to guide them both by God's holy true Rule. In both Parts be Perils; and of the latter I muſt pronounce them dangerous to a Kingly Rule, to have every Man according to his own Cenſure to make a Doom of the Validity and Privity of his Prince's Government, with a common Veil and Cover of God's Word, whoſe Followers muſt not be judged but by private Men's Expoſition. God defend you from ſuch a Ruler that ſo evil will guide you. Now I conclude that your Love and Care neither is nor ſhall be beſtowed upon a careleſs Prince, but ſuch as but for your Good Will paſſeth as little for this World as who careth leaſt, with Thanks for your free Subſidy, a manifeſt Shew of the Abundance of your Good-Wills, the which I aſſure you but to be employed to your Weal, I could be better pleaſed to return than receive.* Queen Elizabeth, 1583.

After this Speech was ended, her Majeſty, in Perſon, prorogued this Parliament to the 20th Day of *May* next enſuing.

We have now another ſhorter String of Prorogations before us, which continued till this Parliament was diſſolved. From the laſt mentioned Date, it was again prorogued, at ſix different Times, without any intervening Seſſion, to the 14*th* of *September*.

Accordingly on that Day, the Parliament being met, it is entered in the *Journals* of the Lords, that whereas this preſent Parliament ſtood prorogued to the ſaid 14*th* of *September*, yet the Queen by the Advice of her Privy-Council, many great and ur-

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gent Causes occasioning it (*d*), had given her Letters Patents, directed to Sir *Thomas Bromley* Kt. Chancellor of *England*, and others her Commissioners to dissolve this Parliament. Which Letters Patent being read in the House, the Lord Chancellor declared it to be dissolved accordingly.

The Parliament dissolved.

The Reader may observe that, in the Proceedings of the last Session of Parliament, an *Association* is mentioned to be confirmed by an Act passed for that Purpose. This Invention of *Associating* is by *Camden*, appropriated to the Politics of *Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*. Rumours, says he, were spread every where, of great Dangers, wicked Designs and treacherous Practices against the Queen and State. By which, the politic Earl drew in Men of all Degrees and Conditions, throughout *England*, to bind themselves, in an *Association*, by mutual Vows, Subscriptions and Seals, to prosecute to Death, as far as lay in their Power, all those that should attempt any Thing against the Queen (*e*).

The Proceedings against the Queen of Scots revived.

The unhappy Queen of *Scots*, adds our Authority, easily saw that her Destruction was, chiefly, aimed at by this *Association*. To prevent the fatal Effects of it, she made her last Proposals to the *English* Queen, for an Accommodation between them. These Articles were so condescending and modest, that *Elizabeth* is said to be so far moved by them, that it was really beleived she purposed to set her at Liberty. But, crafty Counsellors at Home, who where perpetually laying new Fears before her, and the factious *Scots*, with their Representations, prevented it. These last urged strongly, 'That there was no Hopes of Queen '*Elizabeth's* Safety; if their Queen was set at Li-'berty. That both Kingdoms were undone, if 'she was admitted to be Partner with her Son in 'the Kingdom. That the true Religion in *Bri-'tain* was ruined, if she was to be allowed the 'Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, though it was 'but within the Court-Walls.'

These

(*d*) *Maximis gravissimisque Causis intervenientibus, et Negotiis itaque flagitantibus, &c.* DIAR. PROCER.

(*e*) *Camden* in *Kennet*, pag. 499.

Queen Elizabeth 1585.

Theſe Remonſtrances from the Queen of *Scots* own Subjects, chiefly fomented by a Set of hot-headed enthuſiaſtical Preachers amongſt them, gave the *Engliſh* Government a ſomewhat better Pretext to keep her impriſoned. In which Condition ſhe continued to the Year 1586, when a bold Conſpiracy was ſet on Foot to deliver her; the Original and Progreſs of which we ſhall leave to *Camden* and our larger Hiſtorians: It is, only, neceſſary here to obſerve, that this Conſpiracy proved fatal to the poor Queen, and drew in an *Engliſh* Parliament to vote her Deſtruction. She was tried by a Committee of Lords, and others, ſent down to *Fotheringham* Caſtle for that Purpoſe; and though ſhe made a noble and a bold Defence, offering to refer her Cauſe to a full *Engliſh* Parliament, ſhe was found guilty and received Sentence accordingly. The Subſtance of which Trial will appear in the Proceedings of the next Parliament. But it is neceſſary to take Notice, here, that a Declaration was publiſhed, the ſame Day the Sentence was given, by the Commiſſioners and the Judges, *That the ſaid Sentence did nothing derogate from* James *King of* Scots, *in his Title and Honour; but that he was in the ſame Place, Degree and Right, as if the ſaid Sentence had never been pronounced.*

She is tried by a Committee of Lords, &c. and receives Sentence of Death.

Writs were ſent out to call a new Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, the 15th Day of *October*, in the 28th Year of this Reign. From that Day, *for divers good Cauſes and Conſiderations*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 27th, and from thence to the 29th of the ſame Month (*f*). On which Day the whole Body of Lords and Commons being aſſembled, in the Houſe of Peers, expecting the Coming of the Queen, the Lord Chancellor informed them, that great and urgent Buſineſs prevented her Majeſty from being preſent; but that ſhe had by her Letters Patents, conſtituted an appointed the Moſt Reverend Father in *Chriſt*,

Anno Regni 28, 1586. At Weſtminſter.

The Parliament opened by Commiſſion.

(*f*) Sentence was, only, given againſt the Queen of *Scots*, on the 25th of this Month, ſo that theſe ſhort Prorogations were made till that Tryal was over.

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

Christ, *John* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*; and *Henry*, Earl of *Derby*, Lord High-Steward, her Majesty's Commissioners; in her Name, to hold and do every Thing that was necessary for her in this present Parliament. Which Letters Patents being, openly, read in the House, the said three Lords Commissioners left their own Seats and went to a Seat prepared for them, on the Right-side of the Chair of State, beneath the Steps. Then the Lord Chancellor, after going first to the said Lords and conferring with them, from his accustomed Place, spoke to the Houses to this Effect.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

'That the present Parliament was summoned, 'for no usual Causes; not for making of new 'Laws, whereof her Majesty thought there were 'more made than executed; nor for *Subsidies* and '*Fifteenths*, of which, although there was some 'Occasion for them, yet her Majesty would not 'charge her loving Subjects, at this Time; but 'the Cause was rare and extraordinary; of great 'Weight, great Peril, and dangerous Consequence. 'He then declared what Dangers had been con-'trived of late, and how miraculously the merciful 'Providence of God, by the Discovery thereof be-'yond all Human Policy, had preserved her Ma-'jesty. The Destruction of whose Sacred Per-'son was most traiterously imagined and desig-'ned to be compassed.'

He then shewed, 'what Misery the Loss of so 'noble a Queen would have brought to all Estates; 'that although some of these Traitors had suffered 'according to their Demerits, yet one remained, 'that by due Course of Law had received her Sen-'tence; which was the chief Cause of this Assem-'bly, and wherein her Majesty required their faith-'ful Advice. Wherefore, said he, that you may 'usually and orderly proceed herein, you of the 'Commons House, are to make present Choice of 'some one amongst you to be your Speaker, and 'present to the Lords-Lieutenants as soon as con-'veniently you may.' After which the Clerk of Par-

Parliament read the Names of those who were appointed to receive and try the Petitions offered to this Parliament; and then the Lords-Lieutenants adjourned it to *Monday* next. Queen Elizabeth, 1586.

It is easy to guess the Reason that the Queen came not to the House was an affected Tenderness in her, to sit in Judgment, as it were, on the Life of so near a Relation. Although *Camden* observes, that appointing Commissioners to act in her Name was not without Precedent.

On *Monday*, the last Day of *October*, the Commons presented to the Lords-Lieutenants *John Puckering*, Esq. Serjeant at Law, as their Speaker; who, with the usual Forms, was admitted by them, which was all that was done that Day; and then the House was adjourned to *Friday*, *November* the 4th. On which Day also, nothing is entered in the *Journals*. John Puckering, Esq; elected Speaker.

But, the next Day the Business began. The Lord Chancellor made another Speech to the Lords, in which he set forth the foul and indiscreet Dealings, practised by the Queen of *Scots*, against her Majesty and the whole Realm; notwithstanding the many *great Benefits* and *Favours* which the said Queen of *Scots* had received of her Majesty. After the Chancellor had ended, *William* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer, stood up; and, as one unto whom the whole Proceedings of the said Queen of *Scots* were better known, because of his long Services to his Most Gracious Sovereign Lady, ever since the Beginning of her Reign, related them at large to the House. Which two Speeches made the whole Business of that Day.

To make the Proceedings of this Parliament against this unhappy Queen, more intelligible to our Readers, we shall join those of the Lords and Commons together. And, we are told, in the *Journals* of the latter, that, on *November* the 3d, whilst a private Bill was reading, and one Member offering to speak to it, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, stood up and told the House, 'That having Matter of most great Im-

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

portance to deliver unto this Houſe, from her Majeſty, he was ſo bold, with their good Favours, for this Time to interrupt the Speech intended by the Gentlemen that offered to ſpeak to the ſaid Bill.———And then ſhewed, that her Majeſty thinking that all thoſe of this Houſe, which were lately in the Higher Houſe when the Lord Chancellor declared the Cauſe of her Highneſs's ſummoning of this Parliament, could not hear the ſame; and alſo that many of the Members of this Houſe now here preſent, were not the ncome upor returned; commanded him to deliver unto this Houſe the Summary Cauſe of her Majeſty's Calling and Aſſembling of this great Council at this Time; which was (he ſaid) not to make any more Laws as being many more already than well executed; nor yet any *Subſidy*, albeit, if need ſo required, the ſame were convenient enough to be done; but (ſaid he) to conſult for ſuch Matters as the like were never almoſt heard of, nor any Parliament called for, in former Time, that can be found or read of. And ſo very excellently, plainly, and effectually, made Relation of the horrible and wicked Practices and Attempts, cauſed and procured by the Queen of *Scots*, ſo called; meerly tending to the Ruin and Overthrow of the true and ſincere Religion eſtabliſhed in this Realm; the Invaſion of this Realm by Foreign Forces; Rebellion and Civil Wars, and Diſſenſions within this Realm. Yea, and withal (which his Heart quaked and trembled to utter and think on) the Death and Deſtruction of the Moſt Sacred Perſon of our Moſt Gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majeſty: to the utter Deſolation and Conqueſt of this Moſt Noble Realm of *England*. And ſo diſcourſing of the Matter, and the great, execrable Treacheries and Conſpiracies of the ſaid Queen of *Scots*, even from the firſt to the laſt, in Particularities very amply and effectually (ſuch of them, at the leaſt, as have been hitherto diſcovered) ſhewing alſo, very manifeſtly and evidently, the Proofs and all other Circumſtances of the ſame Treachery and Conſpiracies;

Sir Chriſtopher Hatton opens the Chargeagainſtthe Queen of Scots.

and

and so thinketh good, for his Part, that speedy Consultation be had by this House for the Cutting of her off by Course of Justice; for that otherwise our said Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majesty's Most Royal Person, cannot be continued with Safety; concluding with this Sentence,

'*Ne pereat* Israel, *pereat* Absalon.'

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

This Speech was seconded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chancellor of the Duchy, and Mr. Secretary *Wooly*; who all spoke, at large, to the same Point; reciting the horrible Treasons and Conspiracies, caused and procured by the said Queen of *Scots*. Which Speeches being ended, the House resolved to resume the Affair on the Morrow.

Proceeding thereupon.

Accordingly, on the next Day, the House being reminded, by the Speaker, of going upon the *Great Cause*, as they termed it several more Speeches were made by other Ministers of State; as, also, by Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Scott*, Mr. *Francis Bacon*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Throgmorton*, Mr. *Barker*, Mr. *Dalton*, Mr. *Baynbrigg*, and Mr. Sollicitor; all vehement against the Queen of *Scots*, charging her with treasonable Practices against the Life of the Queen, and procuring a Foreign Invasion to further those Attempts. Concluding, that such Practices could never be prevented hereafter, unless the said *Scottish* Queen did presently suffer the Execution due to Justice and her Deserts.

It was then moved that a Committee should be appointed to consider of a Petition to her Majesty, to that Purpose, and, also, to request the Lords, if they thought good, to join with them in it. Accordingly, a Committee was appointed of all the Privy-Council belonging to that House, and forty-four other Members. There is an Entry made in this *Journal* of the Conclusion of a Speech, said to be spoke by one Mr. *George Moore*, who averred, 'That only *Popery* is the chief and principal Root 'of all the late horrible and wicked Treacheries 'and Practices, and the Queen of *Scots* a principal Branch,

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'Branch, iſſuing from the ſame Root, and the 'moſt perilous and full of Poiſon of all the other 'Branches; for that the *Papiſts*, in very deed, for 'the moſt Part, not knowing the Perſon of the 'ſaid Queen of *Scots*, do wiſh the Eſtabliſhing of 'her in the Crown of this Realm, rather in re'ſpect of *Popery*, (which ſhe would ſet up) than 'for any Affection they bear to her Perſon; and 'ſo likewiſe, for the moſt Part, all of them either 'wiſh or could eaſily bear the Death of our Sove'reign Lady the Queen's Majeſty, though, per'haps, they would not ſhew themſelves to be Ac'tors or Dealers therein.' He therefore moveth, 'That it may be joined in the Petition for the '*Great Cauſe*; That her Majeſty may be moved 'to retain no Servants about her Highneſs's Perſon 'but ſuch only as may be well known both to pro'feſs the true and ſincere Religion, and alſo to be 'every Way true and faithful Subjects.' And further 'That the Laws already in Force againſt '*Papiſts* may be put in due Execution'.

'Theſe Speeches being ended, Mr. Speaker ſhew'ed, that the ſaid Motion, or any other, tending to the Safety of her Majeſty's Perſon, may be very well delivered and remembred to the Committees in the *Great Cauſe*, by any Member of the Houſe.'

A Conference between both Houſes.

November the 7th. Whilſt the Lords were debating the Matter of the Queen of *Scots*, the Commons came up, and deſired a Conference with ſome of their Lordſhips, what Number they ſhould pleaſe to appoint, about the Affair of the *Scottiſh* Queen, which had been opened to them. Whereupon, the Lords appointed the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Steward; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Rutland*, and *Suſſex*; the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, and *Worceſter*; the Lord-Admiral, the Lord-Chamberlain; the Lords *Cobham*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Chandois*, *Buckhurſt*, *De la Ware*, and *Norris*, for the Conference. The Place of Meeting was the outward Parliament-Chamber, at Two in the Afternoon. There was, alſo, appointed to attend

attend the said Lords, the Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, the Chief-Baron, and Mr. Justice *Guadie*. Queen Elizabeth, 1586.

The next Day nothing was done in that House; but the Day following, *Nov.* 9th, several Letters were read, as well from *Anthony Babington* to the Queen of *Scots*, as from her to him, *Charles Pagett*, and others. The Sentence pronounced by the Commissioners, against the *Scots* Queen, was also read. And a Form of a Petition agreed upon by the Committees of both Houses

November 10th. This Day the Lords of the Committee made Report to the whole House, That those of the Commons, upon hearing of the Sentence, and divers of the Special Evidences and Proofs, on which the Sentence was grounded, openly read unto them, after long Deliberation and Consideration had betwixt them, both publickly and privately, they all, with one Assent, allowed the said Sentence to be just, true, and honourable; and that the Commons humbly desired their Lordships to make Choice of such Number of Lords as they should think meet to join with them in petitioning her Majesty. Whereupon, the Lords made Choice of the following, *viz.* the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord Steward; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Rutland*, *Sussex*, *Pembroke*, and *Hertford*; the Lord High-Admiral and the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morely*, *Cobham*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Chandois*, *Buckhurst*, *De la Ware*, and *Norris*.

Memorandum. The Commons made a Request to have the Petition assented unto by both the Houses, to be enrolled in the Rolls of Parliament; which their Lordships thought better to defer, until her Majesty's Liking or Disliking of it was first had of the same.

The same Day the House of Lords was adjourned to *November* 15th, to give Time, we suppose, for the Petition to be presented. From the last-mentioned Day, it was adjourned again to *Saturday*, the 19th, and from thence, once more, to the

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

the 22d of the same Month, without any thing being entered in their *Journals*.

In this Time, the Petition was presented to the Queen by the said Committee of Lords, and the Members of the House of Commons, who were of the Privy Council, with as many more of that Body as to make up the Number of forty-two. *Saturday*, the 12th of *November*, was the Day appointed by the Queen to receive it; when the Lord Chancellor, in the Name of the Lords, and on Behalf of the Commons, declared unto her Majesty, That both Houses, after many Conferences, and long Consultations, had concluded to be humble Suitors to her Majesty, by Way of Petition; the Effect whereof was declared, at length, unto her, by the Orators aforesaid, and the Petition, itself, delivered to her Majesty in Writing.

The *Journalist* hath given us, from an authentic Copy of his own, a *Series* of Notes, which, he says, were made Use of by the Speaker, in his Oration to the Queen, on this Occasion. Which, for fear of making this Matter too tedious, we purposely omit (*g*). In it the Orator displayed more of the Statesman and Lawyer, than of the Christian. But we hasten to the Words of the Petition itself; which, with the Answer to it, are both preserved by the Historian of this Reign; the latter being only summarily mentioned in the *Journals*.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty, our Most Gracious Sovereign,

A joint Petition, from the Lords and Commons, for the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

'WE, your humble, loving, and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in 'this present Parliament assembled, having of long 'Time, to our intolerable Grief, seen by how manifold, most dangerous, and execrable Practices 'of *Mary*, Daughter and Heir of *James* V. late 'King of *Scots*, Dowager of *France*, commonly 'cal-

(*g*) *D'Ewes Journals*, p. 400.

'called the Queen of *Scots*, hath compaſſed the Queen Elizabeth.
'Deſtruction of your Majeſty's Moſt Sacred and 1586.
'Royal Perſon; in whoſe Safety (next under God)
'our chief and only Felicity doth conſiſt: And
'thereby not only to bereave us of the Sincere and
'True Religion of Almighty God, bringing us
'and this noble Crown back again into the Thral-
'dom of the *Romiſh* Tyranny; but alſo utterly
'to ruinate and overthrow the happy State and
'Commonwealth of this Moſt Noble Realm.
'Which being, from Time to Time, by the great
'Mercy and Providence of God, and your High-
'neſs's ſingular Wiſdom, foreſeen and prevented;
'your Majeſty, of your exceeding great Clemency,
'and princely Magnanimity, hath moſt graciouſly
'paſſed over, (although often and inſtantly moved
'by your moſt loving and faithful Subjects, to the
'contrary, in Times, in your Parliaments, and at
'many other Times) and hath alſo protected and
'defended the ſaid *Scottiſh* Queen from thoſe great
'Dangers, which her own People, for certain
'deteſtable Crimes and grievous Offences to her
'imputed, hath determined againſt her. All which
'notwithſtanding, the ſaid Queen was nothing
'moved with theſe and many other your Majeſty's
'moſt gracious Favours toward her; but rather
'obdurate in Malice, and, by Hope of continual
'Impunity imbolden'd to proſecute her cruel and
'miſchievous Determination, by ſome ſpeedy and
'violent Courſe; and now lately a very Dangerous
'Plot, being conceived and ſet down by *Anthony*
'*Babington* and others, That ſix deſperate and
'wicked Perſons ſhould undertake that wicked
'and moſt horrible Enterprize, to take away
'your Majeſty's Life, (whom God, of his infi-
'nite Mercy, long preſerve) ſhe did not only give
'her Advice and Direction upon every Point, and
'all Circumſtances concerning the ſame; and make
'earneſt Requeſt to have it perform'd with all Di-
'ligence; but did alſo promiſe Aſſurance of large
'Reward and Recompence to the Doers thereof.

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'Which being inform'd to your Majesty, it pleased your Highness, upon the earnest Suit of such as tendered the Safety of your Royal Person, and the good and quiet State of this Realm, to direct your Commission, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Lords and others of your Highness's Privy-Council, and certain other Lords of Parliament, of the greatest and most antient Degree with some of your principal Judges, to examine, hear, and determine the same Cause; and thereupon to give Sentence or Judgment, according to a Statute in that Behalf made, in the twenty-seventh Year of your most gracious Reign. By virtue whereof, the more Part of the same Commissioners, being in Number thirty-six, having at sundry Times fully heard what was alledged and proved against the said *Scottish* Queen in her own Presence, touching the said Crimes and Offences, and what she could say for her Defence and Excuse therein; did, after long Deliberation, give their Sentence and Judgment, with one Consent, That the Death and Destruction of your Royal Person, was imagined and compassed by the said *Anthony Babington*, with the Privity of the said *Scottish* Queen; and that she did also commpass and imagine the Death and Destruction of your Most Royal Person. Now forasmuch as we, your Majesty's most humble loyal and dutiful Subjects, representing unto your Most Excellent Majesty, the universal State of your whole People of all Degrees in this your Realm, do well perceive, and are fully satisfied, that the same Sentence and Judgment is in all Things most honourable, just and lawful; and having carefully and effectually, according to our most bounden Duties, weighed and considered, upon what Ground and Cause, so many traiterous and dangerous Practices, against your Most Royal Person and Estate, and for the Invading of this Realm, have, for the Space of many Years past, grown and proceeded; do certainly find, and are undoubtedly persuaded, that all the same

'have

'have been, from Time to Time, attempted and practiſed by and from the *Scottiſh* Queen, and by her Confederates, Miniſters, and Favourers; who conceive an aſſured Hope to atchieve ſpeedily, by your Majeſty's untimely Death, that which they have long expected, and whereof, during your Life, (which God long preſerve to our ineſtimable Comfort) they deſpair; to wit, to place her, the ſaid *Scottiſh* Queen, in the Imperial and Kingly Seat of this Realm, and by her to baniſh and deſtroy the Profeſſors and Profeſſing of the True Religion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the antient Nobility of this Land; and to bring this whole State and Commonweal to Foreign Subjection, and utter Ruin and Confuſion; which their malicious and traiterous Purpoſe they will never ceaſe to proſecute, by all poſſible Means they can, ſo long as they may have their Eyes and Imaginations fixed upon that Lady, the only Ground of their treaſonable Hope and Conceits, and the only Seed-Plot of all dangerous and traiterous Devices and Practices, againſt your Sacred Perſon. And ſeeing alſo what inſolent Boldneſs is grown in the Heart of the ſame Queen, through your Majeſty's former exceeding Favours towards her; and thereupon weighing, with heavy and ſorrowful Hearts, in what continual Peril in ſuch-like deſperate Conſpiracies and Practices, your Majeſty's Moſt Royal and Sacred Perſon and Life (more dear unto us than our own) is and ſhall be ſtill, without any poſſible Means to prevent it, ſo long as the ſaid *Scottiſh* Queen ſhall be ſuffered to continue, and ſhall not receive that due Puniſhment, which, by Juſtice and the Laws of this your Realm, ſhe hath, ſo often, and ſo many Ways, for her moſt wicked and deteſtable Offences, deſerved: Therefore, and for that we find, that if the ſaid Lady ſhall now eſcape the due and deſerved Puniſhment of Death for theſe her moſt execrable Treaſons and Offences; your Highneſs's Royal Perſon ſhall be expoſed unto many more, and thoſe more' Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

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'secret and dangerous Conspiracies, than before; 'and such as shall not, or cannot, be foreseen or 'discovered, as these her late Attempts have been; 'and shall not hereafter be so well able to take a- 'way the Ground and Occasion of the same, as 'now, by Justice, may and ought to be done. 'We do most humbly beseech your Most Excel- 'lent Majesty, that, as well in respect of the Con- 'tinuance of the True Religion now professed a- 'mongst us, and of the Safety of your Most Royal 'Person and Estate, as in regard of the Preservati- 'on and Defence of us your Most Loving, Dutiful, 'and Faithful Subjects, and the whole Common- 'Wealth of this Realm, it may please your High- 'ness to take speedy Order, That Declaration of 'the same Sentence and Judgment be made and 'published by Proclamation, and that thereupon 'Direction be given for further Proceedings against 'the said *Scottish* Queen, according to the Effect 'and true Meaning of the said Statute: Because, 'upon advised and great Consultation, we cannot 'find that there is any possible Means to provide 'for your Majesty's Safety, but by the just and 'speedy Execution of the said Queen, the Neglec- 'ting whereof may procure the heavy Displeasure 'and Punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry 'severe Examples of his great Justice in that Be- 'half, left us, in the Sacred Scriptures, doth appear. 'And if the same be not put in present Execution, 'we your Most Loving and Dutiful Subjects, shall 'thereby (so far as Man's Reason can reach) be 'brought into utter Despair of the Continuance, 'amongst us, of the True Religion of Almighty 'God, and of your Majesty's Life, and the Safety 'of all your faithful Subjects, and the good Estate 'of this Most Flourishing Commonwealth.'

After hearing the Petition read, the Queen with great Majesty, both of Countenance and Speech, says our Historian, answered to this Purpose:

SO many and so great are the unmeasurable Graces and Benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge 'em as Benefits, but admire 'em as Miracles, being in no sort able to express 'em. And tho' none alive can more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose Life he has miraculously preserved from so many Dangers; Yet am I not more deeply bound to give him Thanks for any one Thing than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a Miracle; namely, That as I came to the Crown with the hearty Good Will of all my Subjects, so now, after twenty-eight Years Reign, I perceive in 'em the same, if not greater Affection towards me; which should I once lose, I might, perhaps find myself to breathe, but never could I think that I were alive. And now, tho' my Life has been dangerously shot at, yet, I protest, there is nothing has more griev'd me, than that one, who differs not from me in Sex, one of like Quality and Degree, one of the same Race and Stock, and so nearly related to me in Blood, should fall into so great a Misdemeanor. And so far have I been from bearing her any Ill-Will, that, upon the Discovery of some treasonable Practices against me, I wrote privately to her, that if she would confess and acknowledge them, by a Letter betwixt her and me, they should be wrapt up in Silence. Neither did I write this with a Purpose to intrap her: for I knew already as much as she could confess. And even yet, tho' the Matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no Man would undertake her Cause against me, and if my Life alone depended hereupon, and not the Safety and Welfare of all my People, I would (I protest unfeignedly) willingly and readily pardon her. Nay, if England *might by my Death obtain a more flourishing Condition and a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my Life. For, for your Sakes it is, and for my People's, that I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great Reason (according as I have led my Life) why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good Experience of this World; I have known what it is to be a Subject, and I now know what it is to be a Sovereign.*

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

The Queen's Answer.

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

Good Neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad; and in Truſt I have found Treaſon. I have beſtow'd Benefits upon Ill-Deſervers; and where I have done well, I have been ill requited and ſpoken of. While I call to Mind theſe Things paſt, behold Things preſent, and look forward toward Things to come, I count them happieſt that go hence ſooneſt. Nevertheleſs againſt ſuch Evils and Miſchiefs as theſe, I am arm'd with a better Courage than is common in my Sex; ſo as whatſoever befalls me, Death ſhall never find me unprepared.

And as touching theſe treaſonable Attempts, I will not ſo far wrong myſelf, or the Laws of my Kingdom, as not to think but that ſhe, having been the Contriver of the ſaid Treaſons, was bound and liable to the ancient and former Laws, though the late Act had never been made; which nothwithſtanidng was in no Sort made to prejudice her, as divers who are inclined to favour her have imagined. So far was it from being made to entrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing againſt it. But ſeeing it had now the Force of a Law, I thought good to proceed againſt her according to the ſame. But you Lawyers are ſo curious in Scanning the nice Points of the Law, and proceeding according to Forms, rather than Expounding and Interpreting the Laws themſelves, that if your Way were obſerved, ſhe muſt have been indicted in Staffordſhire, *and have holden up her Hand at the Bar, and have been try'd by a Jury of Twelve Men. A proper Way, forſooth, of Trying a Princeſs. To avoid therefore ſuch Abſurdities, I thought it better to refer the Examination of ſo weighty a Cauſe to a ſelect Number of the nobleſt Perſonages of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm; and all little enough. For we Princes are ſet as it were upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the World: The leaſt Spot is ſoon ſpy'd in our Garments, the ſmalleſt Blemiſh preſently obſerv'd in us at a great Diſtance. It behoves us therefore to be careful that our Proceedings be juſt and honourable. But I muſt tell you one Thing, that by this laſt Act of Parliament, you have reduced me to ſuch Straits and Perplexities, that*

that I must resolve upon the Punishment of her who is a Princess so nearly allied to me in Blood, and whose Practices against me have so deeply affected me with Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my Trouble by hearing the Matter mention'd; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempt against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a farther Secret, (tho' it be not usual with me to blab forth in other Cases what I know.) It is not long since these Eyes of mine saw and read an Oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a Month. Hereby I see your Danger in my Person which I will be very careful to prevent and keep off.

Queen Elizabeth. 1585.

The Association you enter'd into for my Safety I have not forgotten; a Thing I never so much as thought of, till a great Number of Hands and Seals to it were shewed me. This has laid a perpetual Tie and Obligation upon me, to bear you a singular Good-Will and Love, who have no greater Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth's Respect and Affection towards me. But forasmuch as the Matter now in Hand is very rarely exampled, and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not look for any present Resolution from me: For my Manner is, in Matters of less Moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is but once to be resolved. In the mean Time, I beseech Almighty God, so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I may see clearly what may be best for the Good of his Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed Danger, we will signify our Resolution to you with all Conveniency. And whatever the best of Subjects may expect at the Hands of the best Princes, that expect from me to be performed to the full.

It will be found by the Sequel, that our Historian, *Livy* like, has dressed up the Queen's Answer in better Language than her Time will allow. But this must pass at present; for it is not inserted at length in either *Journal*,—To proceed. The Lords met

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

again on the 15th of *November*, and thence adjourned to the 22d of the same Month.

In the Interim, *Camden* tells us that the Queen had well weigh'd the Matter in her Mind, and, being distracted with Cares and Thoughts, as it were in some Conflict with herself, what to do in so important a Business, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Upper House, and *Puckering*, the Speaker, to the Lower, to advise them *to find out a more pleasing Expedient, whereby both the Queen of* Scot's *Life might be spared and her own Security provided for.*

This is Mr. *Camden's* Account of this second Message, which, he says, was sent twelve Days after the Petition was deliver'd, by *Puckering* the Speaker: But herein our Historian will be found guilty of two Mistakes, by the Authority of the *Journals*. That of the Commons informs us, that on the 14th of *November*, two Days after the Petition was delivered, when the Speaker had reported to the House the Substance of the Queen's Answer, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain stood up, and having first affirmed that the Speaker's Report was true, he added, that the Queen had commanded him that Morning, to signify to the House,

Her Majesty's Message in Favour of the Queen of Scots.

'That her Highness, moved with some Commi-
'seration for the *Scottish* Queen, in respect of her
'former Dignity and great Fortunes in her young-
'er Years, her Nearness of Kindred to her Ma-
'jesty, and also, of her Sex, could be well plea-
'sed to forbear taking of her Blood; if by any
'other Means, to be devised by the Great Council
'of this Realm, the Safety of her Majesty's Per-
'son and Government might be preserved, with-
'out Danger of Ruin and Destruction. But here-
'in she left them, nevertheless, to their own free
'Liberty and Dispositions, of proceeding other-
'ways, at their Choice. For, as her Majesty
'would willingly hearken to the Reasons of any
'particular Member of this House; so, he added,
'they might exhibit their Thoughts, in that Case
'either to any of the Privy-Council, being of that
'House, or to the Speaker, to be by him deliver-
'ed to her Majesty.'

After

After the aforesaid Orator had delivered this Message, he took Occasion to put the House in Mind, that at the Beginning of this Parliament the Lord Chancellor told them, that it was her Majesty's express Command, no Laws at all should be made in this Session; her Majesty purposing not to be present to give her Royal Assent to any. Wherefore he desired that this House might be adjourned to the 18th of *November*; in which Time, he said, it might be her Majesty would send some other Answer to their Petition which she yet had not read. And the House was adjourned accordingly. Queen Elizabeth, 1586.

On that Day, after many Speeches and Arguments, which, by the by, we find were all on one Side, the House came to a Resolution, 'That no other 'Way, Device or Means whatsoever could or can 'possibly be found, or imagined, that such Safety 'can in any wise be had, so long as the said Queen 'of *Scots* doth, or shall live.'

The *Journals* of the Lords say nothing of this Message; but there is Reason to believe it was sent to them, because that Authority informs us, that on the 22d, 'After many Debates in that 'House, the Lords agreed that the Matter should 'be put to the Question, and every Peer being 'asked his several Voice answered, with one Con-'sent, *That they could find no other Way.*'

'*Item*, The same Day, they of the Lower 'House came up, and desired the Lords to be con-'tent to appoint some of their House to confer with 'them, upon the Answer that was to be made to 'her Highness. Whereupon the Lords made 'Choice of the following, *viz.* the Archishops 'of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the Lord-Treasu-'rer, *&c.* And the Lords, after Conference had 'with the Committee of the Lower House, made 'Report that the like Question was proposed to 'them of the Commons House, and that they 'answered all with one Consent, no Man gainsay-'ing, *That they could find no other Way.* Where-'upon, the Committees of both Houses agreed

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

'upon this Answer to be made to her Majesty, 'That having often conferred and long debated 'on that Question, according to her Highness's

Both Houses resolve to abide by their Petition.

'Commandment, they could find no other Way 'than what was set down in their Petition. 'Which Answer, for the Lords, was delivered to 'her Majesty, by the Lord Chancellor, and for 'the Commons by their Speaker, at *Richmond*, '*Thursday*, *November* the twenty fourth.'

'On the 25th of the same Month, the Lord 'Chancellor deliver'd to the Lords her Majesty's 'Answer to their last Resolution, the Effect where-'of, was put in very extraordinary Terms; *If*,

The Queen's Ambiguous Answer.

'said her Majesty, *I should say unto you that I* '*mean not to grant your Petition, by my Faith, I* '*should say unto you more than, perhaps, I mean.* '*And if I should say unto you I mean to grant* '*your Petition, I should then tell you more than is* '*fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you* '*an Answer Answerless.*'

Thus much *Verbatim* from the Lord's *Journal*.—And all we have to add from the same Authority, is, that a large Entry is made in this last Day's Proceedings, of every Thing done in the fore going, relating to this Affair; with a Copy of the Petition at the Conclusion.

The unhappy and predestined Queen of *Scots* had not one Advocate, in either House, that would or durst plead in her Favour. The Current against her was so strong, as would then have overthrown all Opposers, and involved them in the same Ruin. There are several Pieces of broken Speeches inserted in the Commons *Journals*, all tending to her Destruction; but so interspersed and unconnected, as would be very tiresome to a Reader. What we can collect from the whole of these Arguments is, first, 'That great Stress was laid, on the ASSOCIATION, which they had sworn to and signed. This was recommended to the Speaker to be urged Home to her Majesty. Since, as they said, it respected, more especially, the Consciences of a great Number of her good and loyal Subjects which cannot

cannot be diſpenſed with by Laws. It was, alſo, proved by invincible Reaſons, as the *Journal* terms them, That neither the expected Reformation in the *Scottiſh* Lady, if the Queen ſhould ſpare her Life; nor yet, by ſafer and ſtronger Guarding of her Perſon; nor yet, by her Promiſe upon Word or Oath; nor by the Hoſtages of other Princes her Allies; nor by her Baniſhment; nor by the Revocation of the Bull of Pope *Pius* V. *(g)* nor yet, by the Bonds or Words of a Prince; nor of any or all the Princes her Allies, nor by any other Way or Means whatſoever, other than the ſpeedy Execution of the ſaid *Scottiſh* Queen, the Safety and Continuance of the True Religion, of the moſt Royal Perſon of the Queen's Majeſty, and of the peaceable State of this Realm, can, in any wiſe, be provided for and eſtabliſhed.' Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

It is eaſy to ſee by the Scope and Drift of theſe Arguments, that moſt or all theſe Methods had been propoſed, either at Home, or from Abroad, or from both, to ſave this wretched Queen's Life. It is very probable that all the Princes then in *Chriſtendom* thought themſelves intereſted in it. But it is certain that the violent Party againſt her, in the Houſe of Commons, were eager to have her ſpeedily deſtroyed, for fear ſome foreign Application ſhould have Force enough to ſave her. This Houſe, we are told, was greatly alarmed at the Coming of the *French* Embaſſador, who arrived in *England*, about this Time to make ſome Propoſals for ſaving the Queen of *Scots*. For one Mr. *Grice*, a Member, took Notice in the Houſe, that ſince that Embaſſador was to have Audience of her Majeſty the next Day; who, he was fully perſuaded within himſelf, came not for any Good to her Majeſty, or to the Realm; yet, knowing that, in ſuch Caſes, they are uſually attended *with a Company of Raſcals, and the baſeſt Sort of People of their Nation*, and this Rabble uſing to thruſt into the Preſence of the Prince, along with their Maſter;

(g) See before pag. 100.

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

Maſter; He moved, that, for better Safety of her Majeſty's Moſt Royal Perſon from any deſperate Attempt of the ſaid *Frenchman*, it would pleaſe thoſe of this Houſe, who were of the Privy-Council, to take Order that the ſaid Embaſſador might both be heard and receive his Anſwer from the Council; and, in no wiſe, to have Acceſs to her Royal Perſon. To which it was anſwered by the Vice-Chamberlain, that this Matter had been conſidered of, at the Committees of both Houſes, and Orders given accordingly.

Two remarkably zealous Motions in the Commons, thereupon.

The laſt Thing that ſeems neceſſary to extract from the *Journal*, relating to this bloody Buſineſs, is, that one Day when Mr. Comptroller of the Houſhold, Sir *Francis Knolles*, was giving his Opinion to the Houſe that there was no other Courſe, *&c.* he took Occaſion to propoſe that earneſt and devout Prayer ſhould be made to God to incline her Majeſty's Heart to the Petition of this Houſe; and that ſome apt and ſpecial Courſe of Prayer might be deviſed and put down *by ſome of this Houſe*; and not only be exerciſed here every Day, but, alſo, by all the Members, elſewhere Abroad; and, privately, in their Chambers.

To this pious Motion it was anſwered by Mr. Treaſurer, that he took it to proceed from a good Intention; but ſaid that there was already a Form of Prayer extant, in Print, and uſed in this Houſe for that Purpoſe: and every Member might do the ſame, privately, if he pleaſed.

Leaving this godly Debate to the Reader's own Reflection; we ſhall only add, That on the ſecond of *December*, the Lords Commiſſioners adjourned this Parliament to the 15th Day of *February* following; ſo that this was one and the ſame Seſſion, tho' divided by ſo conſiderable an Adjournment.

We have been as particular, as poſſible, in the Recital of this memorable Affair, from the unqueſtionable Authority of the *Journals*. How they tally with our Biographer, and the more general Hiſtorians, will appear in the Sequel. ——— And, firſt, hear what Mr, *Camden* hath left us of

of this Matter. After acquainting us with the Queen's Message to both Houses, about softning the Sentence, as before related, he goes on thus: Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

'After long and serious Deliberation, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of the Prince concern'd all the Subjects, they unanimously concurr'd again in their former Opinion; and that for these Reasons. *The Queen's Safety* (they said) *could no Way be secured, as long as the Queen of* Scots *liv'd, unless she should either seriously repent and acknowledge her Offence; or were kept with a closer Guard, and sufficient Security given by Bond and Oath, for her good Demeanor; or deliver'd Hostages; or else departed the Realm. As for her Repentance, they were out of all Hopes of it; considering that she had so ill requited the Queen who had saved her Life, and would not yet acknowledge her Fault. As for a surer Guard, stricter Custody, Bonds, Oath, and Hostages, they esteem'd them all as nothing worth; because if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all these would presently vanish. And if she should depart the Realm, they fear'd lest she should presently take up Arms and invade the same.* The Parliament's further Reasons for the Scots Queen's Execution.

These Reasons the Lord-Chancellor, and *Puckering* Speaker of the Lower House, explain'd and open'd more at large, pressing hard that the Sentence might be put in Execution; *because, as it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to any one of her Subjects that should demand it; so much more to the whole Body of her People of* England, *unanimously and with one Voice humbly and instantly suing for the same.* The Queen answered as follows.

VERY unpleasing is that Way, where the Setting out, Progress and Journey's End yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have this Day been in greater Conflict with myself than ever I was in all my Life, whether I should speak, or hold my Peace. If I should speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble: If I should be silent, all your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: And if I should complain, it might Queen Elizabeth's Answer.

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

might seem a strange and unusual Thing. Yet I confess, that my hearty Desire was, that some other Means might have been devised, to provide for your Security and my own Safety, than this which is now propounded. So that I cannot but complain, though not of you, yet to you, since I perceive by your **Petition**, *that my Safety depends wholly upon the Ruin of another. If there be any that think I have spun out the Time on purpose to get Commendation, by a seeming Shew of Clemency, they do me Wrong undeservedly, as he knows who is the Searcher of the most secret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if there be any that are persuaded the Commissioners durst pronounce no other Sentence, for Fear they should thereby displease me, or seem to fail of their Care for my Preservation, they do but burthen and wrong me with such injurious Conceits. For either those whom I put in Trust have fail'd of their Duties, or else they acquainted the Commissioners in my Name, that my Will and Pleasure was, that every one should act freely, according to his Conscience; and what they thought not fit to be made publick, that they should communicate to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclination towards her, that I desired some other Way might be found out, to prevent this Mischief. But since it is now resolv'd that my Security is desperate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my Time pardon'd so many Rebels, wink'd at so many Treasons, or neglected them by Silence, should now seem to shew myself cruel towards so great a Princess.*

I have, since I came to the Government of this Realm, seen many defamatory Libels and Pamphlets against me, taxing me to be a Tyrant. Well fare the Writers Hearts; I believe their Meaning was to tell me News. And News indeed it was to me to be branded with Tyranny. I would it were as great News to hear of their Wickedness and Impiety. But what is it which they will not venture to write now when they shall hear that I have given my Consent, that the Executioner's Hands should be imbrued in

the

the Blood of my neareſt Kinſwoman? But ſo far am I from Cruelty, that, though it were to ſave my own Life, I would not offer her the leaſt Violence: Neither have I been ſo careful how to preſerve my own Life, as how to preſerve both her's and mine: Which that it is now impoſſible to do, I am heartily troubled. I am not ſo void of Senſe and Judgment, as not to ſee my own Danger before my Eyes; nor ſo indiſcreet, as to ſharpen a Sword to cut my own Throat; nor ſo egregiouſly careleſs, as not to provide for the Safety of my own Life. This I conſider with myſelf, that many a Man would hazard his own Life to ſave the Life of a Princeſs; but I am not of their Opinion. Theſe Things have I many Times thought upon ſeriouſly with myſelf. Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

But ſince ſo many have both written and ſpoken againſt me, give me Leave, I pray you, to ſay ſomewhat in my own Defence, that ye may ſee what Manner of Woman I am, for whoſe Safety and Preſervation ye have taken ſuch extraordinary Care. Wherein as I do, with a moſt thankful Heart, diſcern and read your great Vigilance; ſo am I ſure I ſhall never requite it, had I as many Lives as all you together.

When firſt I took the Scepter into my Hand, I was not unmindful of God the Giver, and therefore I began my Reign with ſecuring his Service, and the Religion I had been both born in, bred in, and I truſt, ſhall die in. And though I was not ignorant how many Dangers I ſhould meet withal at Home, for my altering Religion, and how many great Princes Abroad of a contrary Profeſſion would in that Reſpect bear an hoſtile Mind towards me: Yet was I no whit diſmay'd thereat, knowing that God, whom alone I ey'd and reſpected, would defend both me and my Cauſe. Hence it is that ſo many Treacheries and Conſpiracies have been attempted againſt me, that I might well admire to find myſelf alive at this preſent Day, were it not that God's holy Hand has ſtill protected me beyond all Expectation. Next, to the End I might make the better Progreſs in the Art of Ruling well, I had long and ſerious Cogitations with myſelf what Things were moſt

Queen Elizabeth. 1586.

most worthy and becoming Kings to do: And I found it absolutely that they should be completely furnished with those prime capital Virtues, Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Magnanimity. Of the two latter I will not boast myself; my Sex does not permit it; they are proper to Men. But for the two former and less rough, I dare say, (and that without Ostentation) I never made a Difference of Persons, but high and low had equally Right done them: I never preferr'd any for Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I never was forward to believe Stories at the first Telling; nor was I so rash as to suffer my Judgment to be forestall'd with Prejudice, before I had heard the Cause. I will not say but many Reports might haply be brought me, too much in Favour of the one Side or the other: For a good and a wary Prince may sometimes be bought and sold, whilst we cannot hear all ourselves. Yet this I dare say boldly, My Judgment (as far as I could understand the Case) ever went with the Truth. And as Alcibiades *advised his Friend, not to give any Answer till he had run over the Letters of the whole Alphabet; so have I never used rash and sudden Resolutions in any Thing.*

And therefore as touching your Counsels and Consultations, I acknowledge them to have been with such Care and Providence, and so advantageous for the Preservation of my Life, and to proceed from Hearts so sincere and devoted to me, that I shall endeavour, what lies in my Power, to give you Cause to think your Pains not ill-bestow'd, and strive to shew myself worthy of such Subjects.

And now for your Petition, I desire you for the present to content yourselves with an Answer without Answer. Your Judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your Reasons: But I must desire you to excuse those thoughtful Doubts and Cares, which as yet perplex my Mind; and to rest satisfy'd with the Profession of my thankful Esteem of your Affections, and the Answer I have given, if you take it for any Answer at all. If I should say I will not do what you request, I might say, perhaps, more than I intend:

tend: And if I should say I will do it, I might plunge myself into as bad Inconveniences as you endeavour to preserve me from: Which I am confident your Wisdoms and Discretions would not that I should, if ye consider the Circumstances of Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Men (h). Queen Elizabeth. 1587.

To conclude this long and melancholy Business. The unhappy Queen of *Scots* fell a Sacrifice to the *Romish* Religion; and, as she complains herself, in her last Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, to those zealous *Puritans*, who then bore the chief Sway in *England*. Constrained by Necessity, and at the earnest Prayers and Entreaties of both Houses of Parliament, *Elizabeth* first suffered the Sentence to be publickly proclaimed against her; and then shut her Eyes whilst the bloody Decree was put in Execution. What Bustle was made about *Davison* the Secretary, afterwards, is very well known. Most Historians think this was all a Farce; as well as the great Reluctance that was previous to it. Queen *Elizabeth's* own Chronicler writes, that *It was thought to proceed from the natural Art and Guise of Women; who, tho' they desire a Thing never so much, yet will always seem rather to be constrained and forced to it (i).* Mary Queen of Scots beheadrd.

It is observable, that the Proceedings of the last Parliament were different from any that was ever summoned before in this Kingdom. No Bills of any Kind were exhibited in either House; and consequently, no Acts were passed at the End of it. They seemed to be called, only, to constitute a higher Tribunal; to re-hear and re-examine the Letters and Evidences against the Queen of *Scots*, and confirm the Sentence. By which Means of Proceeding against Crowned Heads, *Elizabeth* gave

(*b*) The curious Inquirer may find this Matter more at large in the Supplement to *Hollingshead's Chronicle*, (Pag. 1580 to 1587.) ending in this very Year; where this whole Affair is drawn up and deliver'd in the Language and Orthography of the Times.

(*i*) *Camden* Pag. 528. The Queen of *Scots* was beheaded at *Fotheringhay-Castle*, *Feb.* 8. 1587. So that from the Time that Sentence was pronounced against her, she was suffered to live in a terrible State of Uncertainty, very near four Months.

Queen Elizabeth. 1587. the Parliament a Power, which, one Branch of it, too fatally, took to themſelves, in a ſucceeding Reign.

The Spaniſh Invaſion. We now enter upon a Year, which will be ever memorable for one of the greateſt Deliverances this Nation ever had, from its moſt formidable Enemies. *Camden* introduces it with Preſages and Prophecies, all ominous to *England*. Reports and Rumours were no longer uncertain, but it was now moſt certainly known that an invincible *Armada* was rigged and prepared in the Ports of *Spain*, in order to invade *England*. And that the moſt famous Officers and Soldiers were ſent for, from different Parts of the World, to aſſiſt in this Expedition.

Anno Regni 29, 1587-8. At Weſtminſter. But, whilſt theſe Preparations were making Abroad, the *Engliſh* Parliament met at Home, according to the Adjournment, *February* the 15th. It is very ſurpriſing that the particular Writer of this Reign has not one Word about this ſecond Meeting; eſpecially when there were ſome memorable Things, relating to the Exigencies of the Times, tranſacted in it. He ſeems to be ſo intent on the raiſing Forces for the Security of the Kingdom, that he has forgot the very Sinews of War, without which all martial Preparations are in vain.

The two firſt Days there was nothing done, becauſe the Lord Chancellor was ſick; on the 17th Sir *Edmund Anderſon*, Knt. Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, read publickly in the Houſe of Lords, a Commiſſion from the Queen, directed to himſelf, by which he was authorized and appointed, in the Abſence of the ſaid Lord Chancellor, to act in his Stead.

The ſucceeding Days, to *March* the 7th, there were only ſome Bills read for the better regulating ſome Branches of the Law. But, on the Day aforeſaid, a Bill was ſent up by the Commons, entitled, An Act for one entire *Subſidy (k)*, and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be granted to her Majeſty by the Temporality. And it paſſed the

A Subſidy.

(k) The ſame as before. *Stowe*, p. 741.]

the House on the 9th Instant. The next Day a Bill for the Confirmation of one entire Subsidy, from the Clergy, of Six Shillngs in the Pound, to be paid in three Years, was read and passed also. Queen Elizabeth 1587-8.

But these dilatory Acts not answering the pressing Occasions of the State; on the 11th of *March*, a Message was sent from the Commons, requesting that it would please the Lords to appoint a Number of their House for a Conference with a Committee of the other. Accordingly the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Hertford*, and *Leicester*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Grey*, *Stafford*, *Stourton*, *Cromwell*, *North*, *Delaware* and *Norris*, were appointed. Who, the same Day, after the Conference, made a Report to the House, 'That the Commons made 'humble Suit to their Lordships, to have the 'Lords of this House join with them in a Contri- 'bution or *Benevolence*, which they of the Lower 'House meant to offer unto her Majesty. The 'Manner, how they meant to proceed therein, was 'opened by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. On 'which Report of the Committee, the Lords 'thought good to refer their Answers herein till '*Monday* next.'

A Benevolence from the Commons.

But we hear no more of this Matter until *Wednesday* the 15th; when another *Memorandum* is entered, 'That this Day the Lords of the Com- 'mittee made Report unto the whole House, that 'upon divers Conferences had with the Committee 'of the Lower House, touching their Request 'made to the Lords to join with them in Petition 'to her Majesty about a *Benevolence*, or Contri- 'bution, which they of the Lower House thought 'good to offer unto her Majesty; the said Lords of 'the Committee thought it good, for divers Rea- 'sons, to join with the Commons therein, which 'Reasons, when the whole House had heard and 'considered, their Lordships did resolve that the 'Commons should be left to themselves, and that

Queen Elizabeth. 1587-8.

'they would take such Order herein as to their 'Lordships shall seem convenient.'

Accordingly, the same Lords, as before, were chosen a new Committee to resolve upon the Contribution; when, after some Conference had amongst themselves, in Respect of the great Charges her Majesty hath heretofore been at, and that her Highness must be enforced to be at hereafter for the Defence of this Realm and other her Majesty's Dominions, they resolv'd freely to offer and give unto her *two shillings in the Pound*, after the Rate of the Valuation of the Subsidy of the Temporality, granted in this present Session of Parliament, to be paid unto such Persons, and at such Times, as it shall please her Majesty to appoint. Which Resolution being afterwards openly declared unto the whole House, the Temporal Lords, in regard that the Lords Spiritual had made a prior Offer of Contribution to her Majesty, did altogether, with one Consent, most willingly, ratify the said Resolution, both touching the Sum and the Payment thereof, and ordered that this free Gift should be entered on Record; and that such of the Lords as were then present, of her Majesty's Privy Council, should signify the same to her Highness, in all their Names.

And from the Lords.

In this Session there was an Act passed for confirming the Attainders of *Thomas* late Lord *Pagett* and others, who are marked by initial Letters in the printed Statutes; but *Camden* hath explained these to be *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidioch Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*, and the rest of the Conspirators, on the Queen of *Scots* Account, who had been tried and executed some Time before. By this Act, all their Goods and Possessions were confiscated; but our Historian places it as made at the first Meeting of this Parliament, whereas it was passed in the second.

Attainders of the Queen of Scots Accomplices.

This second Session lasted but about five Weeks, in which there were ten Acts expedited, nine of which

which are mentioned in the printed Statutes; but none remarkable enough to be taken any more Notice of here. One Thing, however, is memorable, that on the laſt Day of the Seſſion, the Commons ſent up a new Bill, for the Sale of the Lands of one *Thomas Handford*, for a Debt due to the Crown, &c. when the Lords had before paſſed a Bill to the ſame Effect, and ſent it down to the Commons. Therefore it is entered that ſince the Commons had rejected their Bill, without Conference with ſome of the Lords of this Houſe, and framed a new Bill and ſent it up; their Lordſhips thought it a Precedent ſo ſtrange, and ſo far contrary to the Orders of this Houſe, that they reſolved to put it to the Queſtion, Whether this new Bill ſhould, by the Orders of this Houſe, be read here or not? The whole Houſe being particularly aſked their Opinions, with one Conſent, they concluded, that it ſhould not be read. Queen Elizabeth' 1587-8.

This is all that is material in the Lords *Journals*, but that of the Commons is much more filled with Matters of Conſequence, which happen'd at this ſecond Meeting of the Parliament. We are told, that on the 22d of *February*, the Day this Houſe met, after another ſhort Adjournment, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Kt. Vice-Chamberlain, acquainted the Houſe, 'That it was her Majeſty's Pleaſure that they ſhould have diſcloſed to them the Dangers the Nation then ſtood in; That ſhe thanked God ſhe had ſo good a Houſe of Commons, and wiſhed this Seſſion might be ſhort, that Men concerned as Governors might go home to their Governments, for the Sake of Hoſpitality and Defence; and to take another Time for making Laws, except ſuch as are now neceſſary.' The Dangers which he ſpoke of, he urged, were thoſe of antient Malice againſt the Queen; which were to be prepared for, and God invoked for his Aſſiſtance. The Subſtance of the reſt of his Speech, he drew up under the following Heads;

Sir Chriſt. Hatton opens to the Houſe the Affair of the Spaniſh Invaſion.

'The *Catholics* abroad, the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, the Princes of the League, the Papiſts at home, and their Miniſters.' The

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The principal Root thereof:

'The Council of *Trent*, which agreed to extirpate Chriſtian Religion (which they term Hereſie) whereunto divers Princes aſſented, and bound themſelves in ſolemn Manner.

'Pope *Pius* the Fifth ſent his Excommunication againſt her Majeſty; Dr. *Morton* and *Mendoza*, a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, beſtirred them; a Northern Rebellion was bred, the Pope and the reſt practiſed for the *Scottiſh* Queen, and ſhe being acquainted proceeds by their Means.

'Pope *Paulus*, the Thirteenth, proceeds, and ſends *Jeſuits* and *Seminaries* to *England* and *Ireland*, and they proceed to inveigle the Subjects, and diſſuade them from Obedience. *Viſko* beginning a Rebellion in *Ireland*. *James Fitz-Morris* furthereth the Execution thereof. Doctor *Sanders* and *Deſmond* ſtir new Rebellion there, and wrote into *England*, &c. *Parry* was moved to kill her Majeſty, and perſuaded it was meritorious (*l*).

'Pope *Sixtus*, the Fifth, imitateth the other Popes to execute their former Devices, and writeth to the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, that he will overthrow the Goſpel (which Mr. Vice-Chamberlain honourably termed the glorious Goſpel) and therefore moved them to join with the Princes of the League, and to practiſe to win the King of *Scots*, and to ſet up the *Scottiſh* Queen in *England*, and made his Reckoning of the Cantons that be Popiſh, the *Switzers*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, King of *Spain*, and King of *France*. A chief Inſtrument to work this, was Father *Henry*.

'He was ſent into *Germany*, and over *Italy* and *France*, and wrote to the *Scottiſh* Queen, that the Powers will join to overthrow *England*, and make known the Effect of his Labour to the Pope. Invaſion ſhould have been made into *England*, and *Ireland* the laſt Year, and not unlike to be attempted this Year.

'The Pope excommunicateth the King of *Navar*. The Pope accounteth not of Popiſh Preach-

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(*l*) See, before, p. 259, 263.

ing and Perſuaſions that Way; but nevertheleſs moveth all to uſe the World, and for Maintenance thereof ſpareth his Treaſure otherwiſe, and withdraweth Maintenance from *Jeſuits* and *Seminaries*: And divers other Letters were found with the *Scottiſh* Queen, which prove all theſe to be true. If we ſerve Almighty God in Sincerity of Heart we need not to fear. It is to be remembred that the King of *Spain* ſought to recover ſome Part of his Father's Credit, by uſing our Treaſure and Force to get St. *Quintin's*; but he ſoon made his Advantage of it, and regarded not our Territories in *France*, but ſuffered the Loſs of *Calais* and all our Territories; and after the Death of Queen *Mary* what he could. Her Majeſty ſought for his Good-Will, ſending the Lord *Montague*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Chamberlain*, Kt. Mr. *Maun*, and others; and they were but hardly uſed, ſome of them were offered great Indignity and Mr. *Maun's* Son forced, by Strength, to do a Kind of Penance. He comforted the Queen's Enemies, he giveth Colour of Wars, he chargeth the Queen that her Subjects have aided his Rebels in the *Low-Countries*, with countenancing *Monſieur (m)* with Money at *Cambray*, with ſending her Nobility with him into the *Low-Countries*, with the Actions of Sir *Francis Drake*, with Aſſiſtance of the *Low-Countries*.

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'Of the Purpoſe of the Combined Princes:

'Their Shew is to deal with the King of *Navarre* to extirpate him, but their Drift is to ruin Religion, not only there, but to ſet upon and to work the Ruin of it here alſo; wherein the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Guiſe* are now very buſie. Their Malice is the more for Executing the *Scottiſh* Queen, but their Hope is the leſs. The King of *Spain's* Deſignments are to invade *England*, and *Ireland*.

'His

(*m*) The famous Duke *D'Alenzon*, mention'd before (p. 232, *et ſeq.*) whom the *Netherlanders* choſe for their Governor at their Revolt from *Spain*. SALMON's *Mod. Hiſt.* Vol. II.

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'His Preparation:

'Three hundred and sixty Sail of *Spain*. Eighty Gallies from *Venice* and *Genoa*. One Galliass with six hundred armed Men, from the Duke of *Florence*. Twelve thousand Men maintained by *Italy* and the Pope. Six thousand by the *Spanish* Clergy. Twelve thousand by his Nobility and Gentry of *Spain*. It is reported, that ten thousand of these be Horsemen; I think it not all true, but something there is.

'We must look to the Papists at home and abroad. It hath touched us in the Blood of the Nobility, and the Blood of many Subjects.

'They practise to frame Subjects against all Duty, and bring in Doctrine of Lawfulness and Merit to kill the Queen, and have sent their Instruments abroad to that Purpose.

'Two Manner of Forces are to be handled. Assistance to the *Low-Countries*, and Defence by Force otherwise. That God may assist us in Justice, in Right, in Defence against those Princes.

'The Assistance is acceptable that will be profitable. Her Majesty oweth Relief there in Honour, according to the Leagues, especially between us and the House of *Burgundy:* Which Leagues differ from Leagues growing between Prince and Prince, for they grew between the People and this State. We are bound to help them in Honour according to the Leagues. Many Marriages and many Secrecies have been long between us, and the relieving of the Afflictions of that People may not be omitted.

'The Heads of their Miseries are, the *Spanish* Inquisition by *Placard*, using strange Tortures not to be suffered; great Impositions without and against Law, sending some of their People into *Spain* and there tyrannized over; their Noblemen done away; taking their Towns, and setting Tyrants over them to use them like Dogs. The Purpose was to bring the *Low-Countries* into a Monarchal Seat, and then, *Væ nobis*. The Queen's Dealing there is warranted by God. The Queen

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is occasioned of Necessity for Safety of her Dominions and us, that that Country may be preserved, that the *English* Commodities may be vented there with Readiness, with Safety and with Profit; the Recovery thereof will be good for this Country and Crown; it may not be suffered that a Neighbour should grow too strong. (He commended the Princes of *Italy*, and especially the Duke of *Florence*, for using that Policy; *Henry* the Seventh for aiding the Duke of *Britany* with eight thousand Men rather than the King of *France*, after he had found great Friendship of them both, that the King of *France* might not grow too strong.) Queen Elizabeth. 1587-8.

'The King of *Spain* seeketh to be yet greater; he hath already a Seat in Council amongst the Princes of *Germany*, by reason of Territories his Father got there; and, if he could, he would frame the *Low-Countries* to his Desire.

'As to the Pretence of Injuries before remembred: As to the first going over, her Majesty misliked it, and punished some of the Captains (he named Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* for one.) Concerning *Monsieur*, the first Time her Majesty drew him from proceeding for the *Low-Countries*; the second Time she consented that he should only assist the *Low-Countries*, which *Monsieur* afterwards abused, contrary to her Majesty's Meaning. Concerning Mr. *Drake's* first Voyage, her Majesty knew it not; and when he came home, she seized the whole Mass of Substance, brought by him, to satisfie the King of *Spain* (if Cause so required) and thereupon desired Certificate for Invasion into *Ireland*.

'Concerning Mr. *Drake's* last Voyage, it was to meet with the Restraints and Seisures in *Spain*, and their Purpose of War was thereupon discovered; for there was found by the Master of Mr. *Bond's* Ship, who took the *Corrigedore*, and others, a Commission from the King of *Spain*, whereby he termed us his Rebels, as he termed the *Low-Countries*.'

'He

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'He then remembred another Grievance not touched before, which was the Entertaining of Don *Anthony* (*n*).

'Which he anſwered to be done in honourable Courteſie, becauſe of his State, who was a King anointed and crowned; though his Seat was not long untroubled, and coming hither in honourable and courteous Manner, though ſomething weakned, required the Entertainment he had.

'Then he iterated, that the great Grief is Religion, and ſaid that all godly ones are bound to defend it. He then commended her Majeſty's Courage againſt her Enemies Malice, eſteeming it no leſs than the ſtouteſt Kings in *Europe*.

'Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, after Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's Speeches ended, remembred ſome of the former, and inferred, and ſo concluded that the great Preparations of War which was fit ſpeedily to be thought of and provided, would grow chargeable; and therefore thought it fit with Expedition, that the Houſe ſhould appoint a convenient Number to ſet down Articles for a *Subſidy*. Whereupon all the Privy-Council being of this Houſe, the firſt Knight for every Shire, and others, were appointed to meet in the Exchequer-Chamber, at two in the Afternoon.'

Debate on a Motion for Alteration of the Common Prayer-Book.

'*February* 27. Mr. *Cope*, a Member of this Houſe, ſtood up to make a Motion; and after uſing ſome Speeches touching the Neceſſity of a learned Miniſtry, and the Amendment of Things amiſs in the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, offered to the Houſe a Bill, and a written Book; the Bill containing a Petition that it might be enacted, that all Laws, now in Force, touching Eccleſiaſtical Government, ſhould be void: And that it might be enacted, that the Book of Common-Prayer, now offered and none other, might be received into the Church to be uſed. The Book contained the Form of

(*n*) Natural Son of *John* III. King of *Portugal*, whom the *Engliſh* aſſiſted in his Pretenſions to that Crown, againſt *Philip* II. King of *Spain*. SALMON.

of Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, with divers Rites and Ceremonies, to be used in the Church. And desiring that the Book might be read, Mr. Speaker, in Effect, used this Speech: Queen Elizabeth, 1587-8.

'For that her Majesty before this Time had commanded the House not to meddle with this Matter, and that her Majesty had promised to take Order in those Cases, he doubted not but to the good Satisfaction of all her People; he desired that it would please them to spare the Reading of it. Notwithstanding the House desired the Reading of it. Whereupon Mr. Speaker willed the Clerk to read it. And the Clerk being ready to read it, Mr. *Dalton* made a Motion against the Reading of it, saying, that it was not meet to be read, and that it did appoint a new Form of Administration of the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church, to the Discredit of the Book of Common-Prayer and the whole State; and thought that this Dealing would bring her Majesty's Indignation against the House, thus to enterprize the Dealing with those Things which her Majesty especially had taken into her own Charge and Direction. Whereupon Mr. *Lewkenor* spoke, shewing the Necessity of Preaching, and of a learned Ministry, and thought it very fit that the Petition and Book should be read. To this Purpose spake Mr. *Harleston* and Mr. *Bainbrigg*, and, so the Time being passed, the House brake up, and neither the Petition nor Book read.'

'This done her Majesty sent to Mr. Speaker as well for this Petition and Book, as for that other Petition and Book for the like Effect, that was delivered the last Session of Parliament; which Mr. Speaker sent to her Majesty.'

'On the 28th of *February* her Majesty sent for Mr. Speaker, by occasion whereof the House did not sit.'

'On the first of *March* Mr. *Wentworth* delivered unto Mr. Speaker certain Articles, which contained Questions touching the Liberties of the House, and to some of which he was to answer, and desired they might be read. Mr. Speaker required

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quired him to spare his Motion until her Majesty's Pleasure was further known touching the Petition and Book lately delivered in to the House; but Mr. *Wentworth* would not be so satisfied, but required his Articles might be read. Mr. Speaker said he would peruse them, and then do what was fit.'

This is all the *Journals* afford us, but Sir *Symonds Dewes* has given us Mr. *Wentworth's* Speech and the Questions at large, which are too important to be omitted.

Mr. Speaker,

Mr. Wentworth's Speech relating to the Liberties of the House.

'FORASMUCH as such Laws as God is to be honoured by, and that also such Laws as our Noble Sovereign and this worthy Realm of *England* are to be enriched, strengthened and preserved by, from all foreign and domestic Enemies and Traitors, are to be made by this Honourable Council, I as being one moved and stirred up by all dutiful Love, and desirous even for Conscience sake, and of a Mind to set forward God's Glory, the Wealth, Strength and Safety of our natural Queen and Commonweal, do earnestly desire, by Question, to be satisfied of a few Questions to be moved by you Mr. Speaker, concerning the Liberty of this Honourable Council; for I do assure you, I praise my God for it, that I do find in myself a willing Mind to deliver unto this Honourable Assembly some little Taste and Account of that simple Talent, which it hath pleased God of his singular Favour and Goodness to bestow upon me, to gain to his Highness's Honour and Glory; and to shew unto my Noble Prince and Commonwealth, true, faithful, and dutiful Service; of the which Mind, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, here are many godly, faithful, and true-hearted Gentlemen in this Honourable Assembly. Howbeit, the Want of Knowledge and Experience of the Liberties of this Honourable Council, doth hold and stay us back. For as we have a hearty Desire to serve God, her Majesty, and this noble Realm; even so are we fearful and loath to give or offer any Offence to her Majesty, or

'or unto her Laws; the which, we presume, we shall not do, if we keep ourselves within the Circle of them, and no Man can observe that whereof he is ignorant. Wherefore I pray you, Mr. Speaker, eftsoons to move these few Articles, by Question, whereby every one of this House may know, how far he may proceed in this Honourable Council, in Matters that concern the Glory of God, and our true and loyal Service to our Prince and State. For I am fully persuaded, that God cannot be honoured, neither our Noble Prince or Commonweal preserved or maintained, without free Speech and Consultation of this Honourable Council, both which consist upon the Liberties of this Honourable Council, and the Knowledge of them also. So here are the Questions, Mr. Speaker: I humbly and heartily beseech you to give them a Reading, and God grant us true and faithful Hearts in Answering of them; for the true, faithful, and hearty Service of our merciful God, our lawful Prince, and this whole and worthy Realm of *England* will much consist hereafter upon the Answer unto these Questions. Wherefore it behoveth us to use wise, grave, and godly Considerations in Answering of them.'

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'Therefore the Lord direct our Tongues, that we may answer them even with his Spirit, the Spirit of Wisdom, without the which our Wisdom is nothing else but Foolishness.'

The *QUESTIONS.*

'Whether this Council be not a Place for any Member of the same here assembled, freely and without Controlment of any Person, or Danger of Laws, by Bill or Speech, to utter any of the Griefs of this Commonwealth whatsoever, touching the Service of God, the Safety of the Prince and this noble Realm?

'Whether that great Honour may be done unto God, and Benefit and Service unto the Prince and

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'and State without free Speech in this Council 'which may be done with it?

'Whether there be any Council which can 'make, add to, or diminish from the Laws of the 'Realm, but only this Council of Parliament?

'Whether it be not against the Orders of this 'Council to make any Secret or Matter of Weight, 'which is here in Hand, known to the Prince or 'any other, concerning the high Service of God, 'Prince or State, without the Consent of the 'House?

'Whether the Speaker, or any other, may inter- 'rupt any Member of this Council in his Speech 'used in this House, tending to any of the fore- 'named high Services?

'Whether the Speaker may rise when he will, 'any Matter being propounded, without Consent 'of the House or not?

'Whether the Speaker may over-rule the House 'in any Matter or Cause there in Question; or 'whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any 'Matter or not?

'Whether the Prince and State can continue, 'stand and be maintained without this Council of 'Parliament, but by altering the Government of 'the State?'

For which he and four more are committed to the Tower by the Privy-Council

We are told that the Speaker did not think proper to put these Questions to the House; but shewed them to Sir *Thomas Heneage*, a Privy-Counsellor; and soon after Mr. *Wentworth* was committed Prisoner to the *Tower*. And *March* the 2d, Mr. *Cope*, Mr. *Lewknor*, Mr. *Harleston* and Mr. *Baynbrigg*, the four Speakers to the Motion aforesaid, were sent for before the Lord Chancellor and divers of the Privy-Council, and by them sent to the *Tower* after Mr. *Wentworth*.

Debate thereupon.

Two Days after this, whilst the House was sitting, Sir *John Higham*, made a Motion, 'That, 'since several good and necessary Members of that 'House were taken from them, it would please

'them to be humble Petitioners to her Majesty for the Restitution of them again to the House.' Queen Elizabeth. 1587-8

To which Mr. Vice-Chamberlain answered, 'That if the Gentlemen were committed for 'Matter within the Compass of the Privilege of 'the House, then there might be Room for a Petition. But if not, adds he, we shall occasion 'her Majesty's further Displeasure. He rather advised to stay till they heard more, which could 'not be long. And, further, as to the Book and 'the Petition, her Majesty had, for divers good 'Causes best known to herself, thought fit to suppress the same, without any farther Examination 'of them. And yet he conceiv'd it *very unfit for* '*her Majesty to give any Account of her Actions.*'

We hear no more of this Matter, nor how long these Gentlemen were Prisoners in the *Tower*; and it is surprising that neither *Camden*, nor any other Historian take any Notice of so important an Affair. The rest of this Session was taken up with Matters of no Significancy in this House; except in the Reading and Passing some Bills already mentioned in our Account of the other. So that on *March* the 23d, the Lord Chief Justice declared to both the Houses, in Form, that her Majesty for certain Reasons could not come down to the House to pass the Bills; and therefore had granted her Letters Patents, in which the Titles of all the Bills are, particularly, recited for that Purpose. Which Commission, being openly read, the said Lord Chief Justice produced other Letters Patents, directed to the two Archbishops, the great Officers of State, *&c. &c.* constituting them her Majesty's Commissioners to dissolve this Parliament; which being read, as the former, the Parliament was dissolved accordingly. The Parliament dissolved.

The *Spanish* Invasion now engrosses all the Heads and Pens of our *English* Historians; and many Pages together, in our larger Writers, are bestowed, in an exact Detail of that prodigious Enterprize and ever-glorious Overthrow The Constitutional Part of our Nation lies wholly neglected

Queen Elizabeth. 1588.

neglected by them for ſome Years after; and they forget to tell us that the State was almoſt Bankrupt by it. The *Spaniſh* Captures did by no Means diſcharge the vaſt Debt the Nation ran into, by the mighty Preparations made to hinder this Invaſion from taking Effect; as the Proceedings of the next Parliament evince to ſome Purpoſe; for never ſuch a Supply was granted, at one Time, by any Parliament before.

Not long after, this grand Affair being over, and the Kingdom perfectly relieved from the Fear of a foreign Yoke; when the Queen had rewarded her brave Admirals and Commanders, for their extraordinary Conduct and great Valour ſhewn on the Occaſion, as well as ſhe could, but not equal to their Merit; Her Majeſty, by the Advice of her Council, thought proper to ſummon a Parliament, to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on the 12th Day of *November* in the 30th Year of her Reign. When being aſſembled, accordingly, it was by Letters Patents, directed to Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Kt. then Lord Chancellor, *William* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* prorogued from that Day to the 4th of *February* next enſuing (*o*).

At which Time, being again aſſembled, and the Queen preſent, the Lord-Chancellor opened the Cauſe of the Summons to both Houſes of Parliament to this Effect; He told them, (*p*)

Anno Regni 31, 1588-9. At Weſtminſter.

'That her Majeſty had made it her conſtant 'Study, from the very Beginning of her Reign 'to this Time, to preſerve Peace; not only 'at Home but alſo Abroad. That ſhe had given 'no Occaſion to the many Princes about her to 'invade her Dominions. Nor had taken Arms 'to revenge the many Injuries which others had 'brought againſt her. Peace ſhe ever had above 'all Things at Heart, had nouriſhed and preſerved 'it. Neither the Infant State of *Scotland*, nor 'the Treachery of *France*, nor the Diviſions of 'her Enemies, nor the frequent Solliciations of the

(*o*) *Dugdale's* Summons to Parliament. ——— *Journ. Procer.*
(*p*) Tranſlated from the *Latin* in the *Journals* of the Lords.

'*Dutch*, nor even all these Things, could move her to make War. And, when she heard that 'mighty Preparations were making against her and 'her Kingdom, she chose rather to propose Peace 'than to cast all Hopes of it aside; for she sent a 'Set of grave, prudent, and noble Persons, as 'her Embassadors, to treat of it. Which, whilst 'they were labouring to effect, behold, a vast 'Navy of *Spanish* Ships were seen on our *English* 'Coasts. Such a Navy, that, for Number and 'Greatness of the Ships, for Quantity of Arms 'and military Forces, and for all Kinds of neces-'sary Stories, was never seen to float on the Ocean 'before. But God Almighty, her Majesty's 'Hope, Defender and Preserver, rendered this 'vast *Armado* of her Enemies vain and useless. 'For the *British* Navy, by far inferior in Number 'and Strength, happily attacked, once and again, 'those huge rais'd-up Rocks and Mountains of 'Ships (*q*); and, at the third Conflict, so disper-'sed, shattered and disabled them, that, never 'thinking to renew the Fight, they fled for it, 'and took a long Course hitherto unheard of; 'for they steered round *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the 'most *Northern* Regions, and by those Means 'hoped to regain the *Spanish* Coasts. But what 'Shipwrecks they suffered, what Hardships they 'bore, how many Ships, Soldiers and Seamen 'they lost, neither can they yet know, nor we, 'for certain, learn. Some few Ships escaped to '*Spain*; but so shaken, shattered and forlorn, as 'they can never be of Use to them again. The 'Soldiers and Sailors who have survived, were so 'miserably harrassed by Hunger, Thirst, and other Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

(*q*) The *Latin* is here *immanes illas Scyllas et Centauros*, by which Classical Expression, we suppose that the Chancellor, who is represented, by *Camden*, as a very learned Man, gave a Translation of his Speech for the Clerk to enter in the *Journal*. The Speeches and Proceedings, for many Years before this Time, are almost all put down in *English*.

It is somewhat remarkable that there is but a very poor Abstract of this Speech in *Dewes's Journals*.

Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

'Hardſhips, that they cannot, of a long Time, 'recover their former Health.

'But to what End, ſays he, do I, by this Re-'cital, endeavour to make you ſecure and void of 'Fear? Do not you imagine, I ſay, that they 'are ardently ſtudious of Revenge; and that they 'will not employ the Power, the Strength, the 'Riches of *Spain*, and the Forces of both King-'doms, to accompliſh it? Know you not the 'Pride, Fury and Bitterneſs of the *Spaniard* a-'gainſt you? Yes, adds he, this is the great Cauſe 'of Summoning this Parliament; that in this moſt 'full Aſſembly of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent Per-'ſons, called together from all Parts of this King-'dom, as far as human Counſel can adviſe, a di-'ligent Preparation may be made, that Arms and 'Forces and Money may be in Readineſs; and 'that our Navy, which is the greateſt Bulwark of 'this Kingdom, may be repaired, manned and fitted 'out for all Events, with the utmoſt Expedition.'

After the Chancellor had ended his Oration, the Queen adjourned the Houſe of Lords to the ſixth of *February*; to give Time to the Commons to chooſe their Speaker, which had been recommended to them by the Chancellor, at the End of his Speech. Accordingly, on that Day, the Commons preſented to the Queen *George Snagg*, Serjeant at Law, for their Speaker, who, with the uſual Ceremonies, was confirmed. The Lord Chancellor at the End of the Admiſſion Speech, only, admoniſhing the Commons not to extend their Privileges to any unreverend and miſbecoming Speeches, or unneceſſary Acceſſes to her Majeſty (*r*).

Geo. Snagg, Eſq. elected Speaker.

To

(*r*) This Lord Chancellor, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, is firſt mentioned in the Courſe of his Hiſtory, as Captain of the Guard, and afterwards as Vice-Chamberlain. *Camden* tells us, 'That of a Courtier, he was made Lord Chancellor, at which the great Lawyers took much Diſtaſte: That he was advanced to it by the cunning Arts of thoſe, who, thinking him unable to execute the Office, hop'd by this Means to throw him out of the Queen's Favour; But he ſupported the Place with the greateſt State and Splendor of any that ever went before him; and what he wanted in Knowledge of the Law, he labour'd to make good by Equity and Juſtice.'

To shew what Effect the Lord Chancellor's Speech had on this Parliament, the first Thing the House of Lords went upon, was to bring in a Bill concerning the Raising and Regulating of Officers and Soldiers; and the Commons about Raising a Supply. The former Bill pass'd the Lords, and went no further: But a Bill against the Embezling of Armour, Habiliments of War and Victual, which was made Felony, became a Statute (*s*). Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

The Commons took a long Time to consider of the Supply; for it was not till the 11th Day of *March* that the Bill was sent up to the Lords, which at first bears this lame Title in the *Journals*: *An Act for* three Fifteenths *and* Tenths, *and* —— *entire* Subsidies, *granted by the Temporality*. Whether there is any Mistake in this Entry, or no, is uncertain; but, *March* the 14th, when the Bill was first read in the House of Lords, it was more significantly and pompously intituled, *An Act for the Granting of* Four Fifteenths *and* Tenths, *and* two entire Subsidies, *to our most gracious Sovereign the Queen's most excellent Majesty*. And was passed under the same Title on the 17th. On the same Day a Bill was read for the Confirmation of a Supply granted by the Clergy, which consisted of two Subsidies of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid, yearly, by two Shillings in the Pound. A very large Supply.

How this vast Supply was carried in the Commons, will appear in the Sequel; but it was a grievous Precedent, and, as Lord *Coke* observes, this Tax was the first that broke the Circle, and made Way for much greater than this afterwards (*t*). He adds, that in former Times, over and above the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, the Commons never gave above one Subsidy and two Fifteenths, sometimes less; one Subsidy usually amounting to Seventy Thousand Pounds, and each Fifteenth, at Twenty nine Thousand Pounds, or thereabouts. The Clergy's Subsidies were comput- Lord Coke's Remarks thereupon.

(*s*) *Anno* 31 *Eliz. Cap.* IV.
(*t*) COKE's *Instit.* Part iv. pag. 33.

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ed at Twenty Thousand, and they never exceeded one Subsidy till this Time.

It may be supposed that the great Joy the Nation was under, for being just then delivered from foreign Fetters, occasioned this unusual Supply. No doubt, they thought that, at another Time, they could reduce this exorbitant Tax, on the Subject, to its usual Stint. But the Event shewed the contrary; and that, let the Subjects give what they will to the Crown, the latter will always find Occasion to make it a Precedent for the same or a larger Demand. 'It is worthy of Observation, says Lord *Coke*, how quietly Subsidies, granted in usual and accustomed Forms, tho' heavy, were borne; such a Power hath Use and Custom begot. On the other Side, what Discontents and Disturbances *Subsidies* framed in new Molds do raise; such an inbred Hatred Novelty doth hatch, as is evident by Examples of former Times (*u*).'

The same learned Lawyer hath extracted, from our Records, several Examples to this Purpose; which, as they were all prior to the Times we are now upon, may come, aptly, in this Place. Observing, that all, and more, of this Kind, may be met with in the Course of this History.

'In a Parliament, holden 9th *Edward* III. when a Motion was made for a Subsidy to be granted, of a new Kind, the Commons answered, they would have Conference with those of their Countries and Places who had put them in Trust, before they treated of any such Matter.'

'In the 4th of *Richard* II. a new Invention of *Subsidies* was started, called a Poll-Tax, on either Sex, for the Furnishing of the Earl of *Buckingham* on his going to *France*. Whereupon, a strong and strange Rebellion broke out; wherein three great and worthy Ministers of State were by the Rascal Rebels barbarously and wickedly murdered; *viz.* *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of *England*, the Prior of St. *John's* of *Jeru-*

(*u*) COKE's *Inst.* Part iv. pag. 33, 34.

Jeruſalem, Treaſurer of *England*, and Sir *John Cavendiſh*, Chief Juſtice of *England*. Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

'The 9th of *Henry* VI. every Knight's Fee was charged to pay 20*s.* and ſo according to the Value, under or over; as the Clergy were for Lands purchaſed ſince 20th *Edward* I. And all others having Lands, of 20*l.* Value, not holden as aforeſaid, 20*s.* This whole Subſidy, for certain Doubts, the King utterly releaſed, ſo that there was no more Mention made of the ſame.'

'In the 4th of *Henry* VII. another ſuch new-found *Subſidy* was granted; which raiſed a Rebellion in the North, in which the noble Earl of *Northumberland*, a Commiſſioner in that *Subſidy*, was, by the Rebels, cauſelesly and cruelly ſlain.

'*Anno* 16 *Henry* VIII. to furniſh the King for his going in his Royal Perſon to *France*, a new Device for getting of Money was ſet on Foot, which made the headleſs and heedleſs Multitude to riſe in Rebellion, until *Charles Brandon*, the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, quieted and diſperſed them.

Sæpe viatorem nova, non vetus, orbita fallit.'

Thus far our learned Judge and Expoſitor of the *Engliſh* Laws. And we heartily wiſh that theſe Examples would have deterred his Bretheren from giving different Opinions to their King in a Caſe of the ſame Nature, in a ſucceeding Reign.

In the *Journals* of the Commons, this Seſſion, is much leſs to our Purpoſe than in many before. The Proceedings in that Houſe, for ſeveral Days, being taken up with Regulating Elections, and Rectifying falſe Returns. It was not till *Feb.* 17th, when the Motion was made for a Supply to be granted to her Majeſty. On that Day Sir *Edward Hobby*, a Member, complained to the Houſe that ſeveral Particulars of a Speech, he had made on the Bill for Regulating Abuſes amongſt ſome Officers of the Exchequer, had been reported out of the Houſe, for which he had been ſharply rebuked by a very great Perſon. And praying that the ſaid Bill might be again read and committed, he was in

Debate on a Bill for Regulating Abuſes in the Exchequer;

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some Sort interrupted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who said, 'That he offered not to speak to any Prejudice of the said Motion; but putting the House in Remembrance of their Charge, given unto him and others, for Conference to be had touching some convenient Supply of Treasure to be had and levied for the necessary Defence of her Majesty and this Realm, now presently in Danger of such mighty and great Enemies, as erst of late hath been at large delivered unto this House by some Members of the same, declared unto them that he and the greater Part of the Residue of the Committees therein, though divers of them did not give that Attendance therein which so great and weighty a Cause doth require, have met and had Conference together about the same, four several Times; and, that at the last and fourth Time of their said Conference, they resolved upon such an extraordinary Proportion of Provision, as they thought the present extraordinary Occasion of Necessity doth require, and that they did set the same down in Writing, which he also moved might be read unto them; to the End that if it might, upon the Reading thereof, stand with their Good-liking to allow of it and give their Assents unto it, Mr. Speaker might then deliver it to her Majesty's learned Council, to have the same framed into the Form of a Bill to be proceeded in and passed in this House; and shewed further, that as the Grant of this Contribution is greater than hath been heretofore for the most Part ordinarily used to be granted (the present Necessity so requiring it) so thinking good amongst them it should not hereafter be an Occasion of a Precedent to Posterity for the like (without like Cause) divers of them were of Opinion, that some meet Words to such an Effect might be inserted in the Preamble to the Bill. And shewed further, that one of the Committees, to wit, Mr. *Francis Bacon*, had for that Purpose set down a Note in Writing, which, he said, (if it pleased them) they might also hear read, and afterwards (if they thought good) might also be de-

livered to her Majesty's said learned Council likewise with the said other Note; and that withal the said Mr. *Bacon* might repair to her Majesty's said learned Council for the further Proceeding therein with them, if this House should so think good. Whereupon the House liking well of this Motion, both the said Notes in Writing were read by the Clerk, and afterwards agreed by the whole House, that the same Notes should be forthwith delivered by Mr. Speaker to her Majesty's said learned Council accordingly, and the said Mr. *Bacon* also to repair unto them.' Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

After the Chancellor had ended, Sir *Henry Knyvet* stood up and entered upon the Complaint made by Sir *Edward Hobby*, and desired the House would take it into Consideration. He recited the Heads of Sir *Edward's* first Speech which gave the Offence, and, after commending the Motion, he urged the present Reading of the Bill. And, upon the Question, it was ordered to be read immediately, and afterwards committed.

This Bill, and another concerning Purveyors, gave great Offence at Court. We find that *February* 27th, a Message came from the Lords to desire a Conference with some of the Lower-House concerning a Message they had just received from her Majesty. On this, a large Committee were appointed, who, returning, made Report 'That 'the Lord Treasurer had informed them the Mes'sage from her Majesty was concerning the Bills 'aforesaid, which she greatly misliked in both 'Cases. The one tending to regulate the Officers 'and Ministers of her own Houshold; and the 'other, those of her own Court and of her own 'Revenues. In both which, if any should de'mean themselves ill, her Majesty was of herself 'both able and willing to reform them. And 'would make public Examples, to other Officers, 'of those of her Houshold or Court who should 'at any Time be found to offend.' And concerning Purveyors; both which give Offence to the Queen.

Many Speeches and Motions were made upon this, what was best to be done to satisfy her Majesty

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jesty about their Proceedings in these Bills. At length, it was resolved to chuse another Committee to consider of this Matter; and, also to search Precedents that might best serve to that Purpose. And two Days after, it was reported to the House, that the Committee thought the best Way was to represent the Case, as it stood, to her Majesty by the Mouth of their Speaker. Accordingly, on *March* 8th, Mr. Speaker shewed unto the House, 'That he and others of this House, who were appointed to attend upon her Majesty, had Access unto her Highness Yesterday in the Afternoon; and that they received from her Majesty most comfortable and gracious Speeches in far better Sort and Measure than he was any Way able to repeat or open unto them, of her Highness's great and inestimable loving Care towards her loving Subjects, yea more than of her own self, or than any of them have of themselves. And as to the Parts of the present humble Petition of this House unto her Highness, in the Grievances by the Purveyors and in the Court of Exchequer, it pleased her Majesty to tell them, That for the one, to wit, the Abuses of Purveyors, her Highness, of her own Princely Care towards her Subjects, had given Orders unto the late Lord Steward to address his Letters unto all the Shires of this Realm, for the due Inquiry and Certificate of the Misdemeanors of Purveyors in all Places, for some Courses thereupon to be had for convenient Redress in the same: And that before any Order could well be taken for accomplishing that good intended Effect, the *Spaniards* upon a sudden attempted the Invasion of this Realm; by reason whereof (her Majesty said) the said Purpose was not performed. And so shewing further, that her Majesty having as much Skill, Will and Power to rule and govern her own Household, as any Subject to rule and govern theirs without the Help or Aid of their Neighbours; so her Majesty minding very carefully (of her own mere great Love and Affection towards her dutiful and loving Sub-

Her Message thereupon.

jects

jects, whose most faithful and approved good Love and Fidelity towards her, she more esteemeth than all the Treasures of the World besides) very shortly to cause a Collection to be made of all the Laws already in Force touching Purveyors, and also all the Constitutions of her Highness's Household in that Case, and thereupon by the Advice of her Judges and her learned Council, to set down such a Form and Plot for the said Redresses, yea, and that before the End of this present Session, as shall be as good and better for the Ease of the Subjects, than that which this House had attempted without her Privity, and in which they would have bereaved her Majesty of the Honour, Glory, and Commendation of the same. And touching the Exchequer she said, it was her Chamber, and so more near unto her than the Household: And that in the tenth Year of her Reign, her Majesty had caused certain Orders and Constitutions to be set down, for the due and fit Course of such Things in the said Court, as her Subjects seem to be grieved for.' Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

On which these two Bills were drop'd, for that Time; but, as it seems, they were soon after revived, by the Queen's Allowance, and passed into Laws this Parliament. Which occasions their being then drop'd.

Few Sessions were ended in this Reign without some Strokes at the Established Church, or the Ministers of it. And in this Mr. *Davenport* stood up and made a Motion, 'That he was neither for making of any new Laws, nor abrogating any old, but for a due Course of Proceeding in Laws already established. These, he thought, were ill executed by some Ecclesiastical Governors; contrary both to the Purport of the said Laws, and also, to the Minds and Meanings of the Law-makers, to the great Hurt and Grievance of sundry of her Majesty's good Subjects.' He then offered a Writing to the House, containing some Particulars to prove his Assertion, and prayed that it might be read. Motions for further Reformation of the Clergy.

In Answer to this Motion, Mr. Secretary *Wolley* begg'd Leave to put the House in Mind of her

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her Majesty's express Inhibition, deliver'd to them by the Mouth of the Lord Chancellor, at the Beginning of this Session, touching any Dealing in Ecclesiastical Causes. And said, that, for his Part, if they meddled in the last moved Affair, contrary to the Inhibition, the House would shew a high Contempt of her Majesty's Commands. Whereupon, though the Writing was received, it was not read at all, but some Time after delivered back to Mr. *Davenport* by the Speaker.

A Bill for Reforming the many Inconveniences, from the great Number of Pluralities and Non-Residents on Church Livings, passed the Commons: but was thrown out by the Lords.

Debate on the Supply.

These Altercations put the Commons into Divisions about granting the Supply. It was not till *February* 28th that the Bill for it was again considered; and several Speeches being made for having it speedily ingross'd, it was opposed by others, who argued 'That it was better to poceed with other Bills, as necessary for the Common-Wealth, which ought to be treated on and expedited before the Subsidy Bill: Because, it was their Opinions, when that Bill was once passed this House, there would soon be an End of this Session of Parliament. On which, the Question being put, it was carried for the Ingrosment of the Bill, though we are not told by what Majority. After this, it met with no more Opposition, but was passed and sent up to the Lords, on the 11th of *March*.

We are obliged to Mr. *Strype* however, for retrieving us one of the Speeches, made in the House of Commons, against this large Supply. This was also amongst the *Burleighan* Manuscripts; but the Reader will easily acquit the Lord Treasurer of *England* of having any Hand in this Speech, whatever he might have in that of Serjeant *Puckerings*(*u*). The Account of the then present State of *England* and of *Spain*, which will be found here, must attone for the Length of it; the Orator's Name is not mentioned.

A Speech

(*u*) See before pag. 272.

A Speech in Parliament Anno 31 Reginæ, *against a Bill of Subsidy to be granted for four Years, in Order to a Preparation against any Assault from* Spain. Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

A Speech against it.

'WHEREAS I am, though unworthy, a Member of this House, and zealously 'desirous to conjoin myself by Consent in all good 'Proceedings with the Body thereof; I have hither-'to in this great Matter of the Subsidy received so 'small Satisfaction for the Direction of my Judg-'ment, that unless I should manifestly dissent from 'mine own Conscience, which neither this Place 'requireth, nor Christianity alloweth, I cannot 'consent with the Bill therein, which may seem 'to have had so general and current a Consent, as 'it might seem superfluous to offer to speak to it; 'and especially at this Time, after the Engrossing 'thereof, after the Resolution thereon by a great, 'grave and wise Committee, I may be deemed 'presumptuous, but to speak against this Bill; 'whereby the Service of her Majesty and the 'whole Realm may be supposed to be hindred; it 'may be thought impious; it may be thought dan-'gerous. The Consent of the greatest Part of this 'House, as I take it, concludeth all the rest at the 'Question, but excludeth none in the Arguing.

'This Time, I confess, to be somewhat unsea-'sonably chosen, but yet now is the Time to speak, 'or else hereafter for ever to be silent. And there-'in I do somewhat rely upon the Authority of an 'honourable Personage, who, at the Putting of 'this Bill to Engrossing, affirmed it, in his Expe-'rience, not to be unusual to have a Bill argued 'upon, between the third Reading and the Que-'stion, two or three Days.

'As for the Service of her Majesty and my 'Country, unto which two I owe all Subjection 'and Duty, I am so far from withdrawing either 'myself or others therefrom, that my Speech shall 'have none other End, than the Advancement 'thereof;

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'thereof; neither, as I hope, shall in that Behalf 'need any other Apology, than itself.

'My Meaning is not to dispute, whether it be 'lawful to grant a Subsidy, or no. For then our 'Saviour Christ himself would stop my Mouth, 'with his Answer to the captious Questionists in 'the 20th of *Matthew*. For sure, the very Im-'pression and Superscription of our Money puts us 'in Mind to whom it doth appertain. Neither 'will I argue whether it be necessary to grant a 'Subsidy, or not. But therein content myself 'with the Example of our Saviour, who in the '17th of *Matthew*, paid his twentieth Penny out 'of his Fish's Mouth for himself and *Peter*. Nor 'yet, whether it be convenient to contribute to-'ward the necessary Exigences of our lawful Prin-'ces. For St. *Paul* teacheth me in the 13th to 'the *Romans*, that Tribute appertaineth unto them 'of Duty, as unto Governors sent by God, for 'the well ordering and guiding of his People.

'But the Question, wherein I endeavour to be 'resolved, is, whether it be necessary or conve-'nient for us at this Time to tender unto her Ma-'jesty such a Subsidy, and in such Manner and 'Form, as hath been by divers heretofore moved, 'as the Purport of this Bill offereth unto us. 'That is in brief, a double Subsidy to be paid in 'four Years.

'And First, for the *Necessity* thereof, I cannot 'deny, but if it were a Charge imposed upon us 'by her Majesty's Commandment, or a Demand 'proceeding from her Majesty by Way of Request, 'that I think, there is not one among us all, either 'so disobedient a Subject in regard of our Duty, or 'so unthankful a Man in respect of the inestimable 'Benefits which by her, and from her, we have 'received, which would not with frank Consent, 'both of Voice and Heart, most willingly submit 'himself thereunto, without any unreverent En-'quiry into the Causes thereof. For it is conti-'nually in the Mouth of us all, that our Lands, 'Goods, and Lives, are at our Prince's Disposing.

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'And it agreeth very well with that Position of 'the Civil Law, which saith, *Quod omnia Regis 'sunt.* But how? *Ita tamen, ut omnium sint. Ad 'Regem enim Potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos 'Proprietas.* So that although it be most true, 'that her Majesty hath, over ourselves and 'our Goods, *Potestatem imperandi*, yet it is as 'true, that, until that Power command, (which, 'no doubt, will not command without very just 'Cause) every Subject hath his own *Proprietatem 'possidendi.* Which Power and Commandment 'from her Majesty, as we have not yet re-'ceived, I take it (saving Reformation) that we 'are freed from the Cause of *Necessity.*

'Another Cause of *Necessity*, is the dangerous 'Estate of our Common-Wealth in respect of *In-'vasion* by our common and mighty Enemies. 'Which Reason, because in my Hearing it hath 'been the principal, and almost only Persuader of 'the Bill, requireth a more sufficient and exquisite 'Answer, than perhaps I shall make unto it. I 'have before acknowledged it to be a necessary 'Answer, to move all to unwonted and extraordi-'nary Contribution. And I must herein needs 'subscribe to a wise and learned Man of our Age, 'who saith, that they be *pia, quæ cum Civibus 'imperantur Tributa, sine quibus Civitas ipsa fun-'ditus sit interitura.* But as I do assuredly hope, 'that our Country is at this present in no such des-'perate and dangerous Case; the very Teeth and 'Jaws of our mightiest and most malicious Ene-'my have been so lately broken, and the Sword 'of his greatest Confederate more lately sheathed 'in his own Bosom. Beside the Hope which 'may justly be conceived of the Expedition now 'setting forward (*v*), for the Defeating all their 'Plots, and Disappointing all their Devices: As, 'I say, I do assuredly hope, that our Country for 'these Reasons, is in no such great Danger, as it 'is pretended, so may I constantly affirm, that 'al-

(*v*) Of Invading some Parts of *Spain* by Sir *Francis Drake*, and other *English*.

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'although by Way of Conceſſion, I ſhould grant 'it to be ſo; yet the Subſidy, required by this 'Bill to be granted, could give little or no Re- 'lief thereunto. For as a Pardon comes unpro- 'fitable to the Offender after his Execution, or 'a Potion to a Patient after his Death, or Reco- 'very to Health; ſo if the Stroke of God's E- 'nemy and ours be likely to light upon us, ei- 'ther this Year, as it hath been here affirmed; 'ſo the next, as it is in my ſmall Judgment 'more likely, I doubt not, but you will all con- 'ſent with me, that a Subſidy, the firſt Part 'whereof is not to be paid till the End of three 'Years, (for unto that only my Speech hath Rela- 'tion) can ſerve neither for Pay, nor Proviſion, in 'Defence thereof.

Utilis eſt medicina, ſuo quæ tempore venit.

'ſaith the Poet. And, *Sapientia ſera*, is ſaid to 'be *Proxima Stultitiæ*.

'And thus having briefly ſet down mine Opi- 'nion againſt the Neceſſity of this Grant, I will 'by your favourable Patience, with like Brevity 'declare ſuch *Inconveniences*, as I have conceived 'may enſue thereby. It is not unknown to you 'all, but moſt ſenſibly felt through the whole 'Realm, what Charge and Expences the Com- 'mons thereof were this laſt Summer driven unto 'by Preparation and Proviſion of Arms, Horſes, 'Apparel, and other Neceſſaries, for their juſt 'and natural Defence againſt the intended In- 'vaſion: You know, that ſince that Time a 'Payment of the Subſidy, laſt granted, hath been 'made unto her Majeſty. There is none of us 'ignorant what Number of Privy-Seals are even 'now diſperſed through the whole Realm, to 'the Emptying Men's Coffers, and Impairing of 'their Stocks: With what Readineſs, Duty and 'Good-Will, theſe Things have been, and ſhall 'be performed by the Subjects, no Man here may 'doubt. Now then to bring a new and unaccuſ- 'tomed Continuation of Payments, one to role

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'in the Neck of another, *ſicut Unda ſupervenit Undam*, I know not, by what Warrant of Reaſon 'or Conſcience, we may do it: Eſpecially, conſidering, that it is not a Matter neceſſarily impoſed upon us, as I ſaid before, but voluntarily to 'be offered by us. Surely, one ſpeaketh very 'plainly, and ſaith, *Aſini eſt clitellam ferre libenter*. But I will, as it becomes me, uſe more Reverence in this honourable Place; and ſay, that 'I think it not convenient, that we ſhould lay 'Burdens on our own Shoulders, or put Shackles 'on our own Feet.

'But it is ſtill urged, that the Service of her 'Majeſty, and Safeguard of our own ſelves, is 'provided for hereby; ſurely, by your honourable 'Patience, I will attempt to prove, that by this 'Grant her Majeſty's Service ſhall be rather hindred than forwarded; and ourſelves rather endangered than ſecured. It was very gravely and 'wiſely delivered unto us in her Majeſty's Preſence, 'at the Beginning of this Parliament, by my Lord 'Chancellor, *Quod tutius Fide, quàm Ferro regnant Reges*. And ſurely, if *Auro* were put in 'the Place of *Ferro*, the Sentence were notwithſtanding nevertheleſs true. For it is not the Abundance of Treaſure, nor the Multitude of Poſſeſſions, neither the infinite Number of Men, 'which maintain and eſtabliſh a King in his 'Throne, but the Faith, Love, Loyalty and Contentment of his People and Subjects: Which as 'her Majeſty hath hitherto, from her firſt Auguration, moſt deſervedly had; and that as fully and 'amply, as ever had any Prince in *Europe*; ſo 'were it greatly to be lamented, that now, through 'our Debates, any ſuch Diſcontent ſhould be bred 'in the Minds and Hearts of her People, whereby their accuſtomed Affections towards her might 'receive the leaſt Diminution. And ſurely, whoſoever they be, that, by new and ſtrange Exactions on the People, ſhall go about to fill up the 'Prince's Coffers, may perhaps pleaſe the Prince 'by ſerving his Turn for the Time, but ſhall in

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Queen Elizabeth. 1583-9.

'the End be found to have done him, but bad Service. The Answer of the Emperor *Tiberius* unto his *Questors*, or Treasurers; which persuaded him for the Repairing of the Treasury, to load the Provinces with Tribute, is worthy eternal Memory; which was, that it was *Boni Pastoris tondere Oves, non autem deglubere*. And the Practice of the *Romans*, while *Hannibal* besieged their City, is of all Nations worthy to be imitated. For being hardly prest by the Siege, and their common Treasure quite exhausted, the Senate took Counsel together for the Redress of these Mischiefs: Some of them persuading, like *Tiberius's* Treasurers, that the People were to be charged with a Subsidy or Imposition: But the greater and wiser Sort (whose Authority also prevailed) would by no Means assent thereunto; thinking it, (especially in that Time of Extremity) most inconvenient by new Taxes and Impositions, to discontent the People, in whom the Strength and Defence of their City consisted. And what did they? Why, they decreed that a Contribution should be made by Way of a Benevolence. And they themselves would first go unto the *Triumviros Mensarios*, which were Officers appointed for that Receipt; and there bestow so liberally of their own, that the inferior People should by their Example be incited to a large and bountiful Contribution. But what followed? The People, as the Story saith, came in so fast and the Money in such Abundance, *Ut nec Triumviri Mensarii accipiendo, nec Scribæ referendo, sufficerent*. It is written by *Livy* in the 26th Book, and needeth no Application. Only this I would wish to be considered, whether if we should by Extremity be put to the like Shift for a Benevolence, before the Payment of this latter Subsidy, the Grant of this would not do greater Hurt to that Contribution, than itself could do good, when it shall be paid?

'I could with Enumeration and Amplification of the Inconveniences, which may grow by this

'double

'double Subsidy detain you longer than either it is Queen Elizabeth's 1588-9
'fit for me to speak, or pleasing for you to hear.
'But I will hasten to an End. It may be object-
'ed, That this Subsidy cannot be an Occasion of
'any such Grievance or Discontent, as is spoken
'of; or, if it were, that the Sharpness thereof
'is well allayed and tempered by the prolonging of
'the Payment. Surely, it may be, that all, or
'the most Part of this honourable House, who,
'both in respect of their Ability, may, and by
'reason of their liberal Education and great Wis-
'dom will, submit themselves unto it: It is a
'light and easy Burden, and accounted but for
'a Flea-Biting. But unto the People, and needy
'Countrymen, to the Artificer, whose Treasure is
'always in his Hand, (for whom we do sit here
'more principally than for ourselves) under Cor-
'rection, it cannot be accounted but for a Punish-
'ment.

'*Samuel*, in the Oration which he made unto
'the *Israelites*, when they would needs have a
'King, among other Burthens, which he told them
'they should bear under that Kind of Govern-
'ment, accounteth the Payment of the Tenth of
'their Seed, their Vineyards, and their Sheep.
'Which may prove, that then it was reckoned for
'a Pain. And the Suits, Exclamations, Com-
'plaints, and Lamentations, of the Commons of
'this Realm, well known to the most Part of this
'House, which they make either at the Assessing,
'or Collection of these Subsidies, or both, doth
'sufficiently testify unto us, that they account it
'now a Punishment. And as for the prolonging
'of the Payment, I am so far from thinking that
'it is any Mitigation of the Punishment, that I
'am rather perswaded, that it is encreased thereby.
'As it is well said of *Seneca*, in the bestowing of
'Benefits, *Quod bis dat, qui cito dat*; so it is as
'truly spoken of another, in the inflicting of Pu-
'nishments, *Dilatio pœnæ est Duplicatio pœnæ*;
'and of another, That the irrevocable Sentence of
'Death being once pronounced, it is *Misericordiæ*

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'*genus cito occidere*. Neither have I heard any great 'Reason why the Pains of Hell are intolerable, but 'becauſe they are perpetual: For *Malorum ſenſus accreſcit die*: And, *Leve eſt miſerias ferre, perferre grave*.

'Seeing then that it is apparent, that this Impoſition, how much the greater it ſhall be, by ſo 'much the more grievous it will be to the mean, 'ignorant, and untaught Commons of this Land; 'who bend all their Thoughts and Actions to the 'procuring and maintaining of their private Commodity; and ſeeing, that their long Meditation thereon will encreaſe and double this their 'Grief and Puniſhment, and that no Man, how 'well-natured or nurtered ſoever he be, can well 'content himſelf with Pain and Grief; I hope 'you ſee as clearly as you hear, that the Subſidy 'required by this Bill to be granted, muſt, after, 'breed a Diſcontent in the Minds and Hearts of 'her Majeſty's People. Of which their Diſcontentment, what might enſue and follow, I would 'be very loth to divine. What if a Dearth of 'Victuals? What if Reſtraint of Traffic, by 'Means of Wars? What if thereby Occaſion 'ſhould be given to ſeditious and traiterous Whiſperers, to augment and encreaſe it?

'Sure I am, that hereof could follow no good 'Service to her Majeſty; no great Safety to ourſelves; no Benefit to the Commonwealth. But 'we ſhould then all, too late, cry, *Woe be to them 'that brought the firſt Spark to the Kindling of this 'Fire*. And it hath often been proved heretofore, 'by Experience, that Money, this Way obtained 'from the People, hath been ſpent in greater 'Meaſure in the pacifying them of whom it 'was collected.

'The Precedent, beſides, may be dangerous, 'both to ourſelves and our Poſterity. For we 'commonly ſee, that, in all Counſels and Deliberations, a Precedent is a forcible and ſtanding Argument. And it was a wiſe and true Saying, 'that *Diuturnitas temporis efficere poteſt, ut quod*

'*per*

perniciore more et exemplo convaluit, potentius ipsa Lege dominetur. And altho' I have before granted you, by Way of Conceſſion, that her Majeſty's Will and Commandment is a neceſſary Argument, to perſuade us to the Paſſing of this Bill; yet, leſt it may be thought of more abſolute Neceſſity, than perhaps it is requiſite it ſhould be, I will ſet down a Precedent or two, which in the like Caſes, have, in this Houſe, been determined heretofore. Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

'In the 39 *Hen.* III. a Parliament was ſummoned; wherein was required an extraordinary Reparation of the King's Treaſury, by a Subſidy. The Commons, becauſe this Demand was greater than uſually had been paid, would grant no Subſidy at all (*a*).

'Thus I have preſumed to deliver my Opinion, hoping that if any thing have eſcaped me, worthy Reprehenſion, through Ignorance, it ſhall be excuſed by reaſon of mine Infancy in this Practice of Speaking: If any Part of my Speech may receive a double Conſtruction, it may be defended by your beſt Interpretation.

The Grant of a Supply being obtained and paſſed both Houſes, this Parliament, ſoon after, drew to a Concluſion, without any other Thing, of Conſequence to this Hiſtory, being tranſacted in it. Except that, on the laſt Day of the Seſſions, *March* 29th, a Meſſage was brought from the Lords, that their Lordſhips deſired the Lower Houſe to concur with them in Opinion, 'That ſince moſt of all thoſe Treaſons, which had been practiſed againſt her Majeſty, had either been plotted in *Spain*, or procured by *Spain*; and that all the Rebellions, either in *England* or *Ireland*, during her Majeſty's Reign, had been countenanced from thence; and, as the Upſhot of all, his late intended ambitious and blood-thirſty Conqueſt, yet freſh in Memory, might be added: Her Majeſty ought to be deſired to denounce open War againſt

(*d*) This goes no further, tho' it ſeems to want ſomething.

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the King of *Spain*, as againſt a moſt dangerous Enemy to her Majeſty and her Realms.'

Both Houſes deſire the Queen to declare War againſt Spain.

On which Meſſage it was reſolved, upon the Queſtion, 'That this Houſe would join with their Lordſhips in requeſting her Majeſty to denounce War as aforeſaid; and that the Speaker ſhould deliver the ſame to her on preſenting the Supply. And, that very Day, her Majeſty being come to the Upper Houſe, the Speaker went up with the Bills, and, in his Speech, moved the Queen to denounce open War againſt the *Spaniſh* King, who had ſo lately threatned Deſtruction to her Majeſty and theſe Realms by his open and hoſtile Invaſion.

The Parliament diſſolved.

Then, after giving the Royal Aſſent to the Bills being ſixteen publick Acts and eight private, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Knt. Lord Chancellor, by the Queen's Command, diſſolved this Parliament.

Tho' Mr. *Camden* takes no Manner of Notice of the Calling or Meeting of the laſt Parliament, yet he hath left us ſome Account how the Money was laid out, which was raiſed thereby. 'Tho', ſays he, the Queen always paid the firſt Regard to Peace, yet ſhe was not unconcerned about the neceſſary Proviſions for War (*b*). And, that ſhe might not be ſurpriſed by the *Spaniards*, ſhe levied freſh Forces, in the Beginning of the Spring, both in *England* and *Ireland*. She fortified ſeveral Places in the latter Kingdom, and *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, with new Ramparts. Towards the Repair of her Navy, ſhe appointed the annual Sum of 8970 Pounds Sterling. She lent very large Sums, on Securities, to ſupport the War, under the King or *Navarr*, in *Germany*; as well as for levying Forces to be under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*. Beſides all this, ſhe paid, every two Months, to the Garriſons of the two cautionary Towns, *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, 125,000 *Florins*; beſides 26,000 more, for ſupporting a Body of three thouſand Horſe and Foot, which ſerved in the *Netherlands*. Moreover, ſhe furniſhed out Ships of

The Queen's great Expences.

War

(*b*) *Kennet*, Vol. II, p. 558.

War to ſeveral Parts; and was at vaſt Expence in oppoſing the Attempts of the *Pope* and the King of *Spain*, in *Scotland*; and diſcharged all the Arrears ſhe owed her Subjects, beyond Expectation. Inſomuch, that many wondered whence ſhe procured ſo much Money, to anſwer all Emergencies; conſidering ſhe ran not in Debt, as moſt other Princes do, and was in a Capacity to ſupport herſelf and Kingdom without any Foreign Aſſiſtance. A Thing that could not be ſaid of any of the neighbouring Princes.' Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

In her private Expences, our Author writes, ſhe was provident and frugal, never ſpending any thing, but to keep up her Royal Character, the Defence of the Kingdom, and the Relief of her Neighbours. The Revenues of the Cuſtoms had been farmed, for ſome Years, at 14,000*l.* a Year; but, being informed of the Fraud, ſhe firſt raiſed them to 42,000, and afterwards to 50,000*l.* and made the Perſon, who had had ſo good a Bargain, pay a conſiderable Sum beſides. This ſhe did, contrary to the Advice of her three Prime Miniſters, *Leiceſter*, *Walſingham*, and *Burleigh*; who, without Doubt, had been no ſmall Sharers in it.

Our Biographer declares, 'That his Queen ever abhorred all Acts of Extortion and vigorous Demands of Taxes and Contributions.' — Whether ſhe or her Miniſtry demanded it, is uncertain; but, 'tis ſure there never was ſo much given in any Reign before. He adds, 'That the Laying a *Poll-Tax*, which had been propoſed in the Reign of *Edward* VI. ſhe would never ſuffer to be ſo much as mentioned. Beſides, the People were always cheerful in paying their Subſidies; and, tho' the Aſſeſſments, then in Uſe, ſeemed to be ſomewhat more burdenſome than in former Times, yet, was it managed with all the Candour imaginable, and no rigorous Exactions made. Inſomuch, that Taxes were then a Kind of free Contributions, and always laid beneath the Eſtimation of the Government; nay, the Queen's Method was to refer it to her Parliament, ſo to order that the Rich might

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3. bear the greater ſhare of the Burden, and the Poor be eaſed; which had been done as early as the Time of *Richard* the Second. But this Method was found to be wrong; for upon a fair Computation, it appeared, that the Taxes would amount to an inconſiderable Sum, ſhould Men of ſmaller Eſtates, by far the greater Number, and ſuch as were called *Pound-Men* (*b*), pay any thing ſhort of what they uſed to do.

This Digreſſion, it is hoped, will not be judged inconſiſtent with the Deſign of theſe Inquiries; ſince we are here told, in ſome Meaſure, not only how Taxes, in theſe Days, were levied; but likewiſe how they were laid out.—But whether our Biographer's Syſtems will agree with the more authentic Extracts from the *Journals*, muſt be left to the Reader's Judgment.

Anno Regni 35, 1592-3. At Weſtminſter. We have now a Gap of Time, of near four Years, and nothing material to fill it up with. For,

It was not till the Year 1592-3, that we meet with a Call of another Parliament; when, the Neceſſities of the State again requiring a Supply, Writs of Summons were ſent out for one to meet, at *Weſtminſter*, the 19th Day of *February*, in the 35th Year of this Reign.

At which Time and Place the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, and, the Commons being called up, Sir *John Puckering*, Kt. then Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, declared the Cauſe of the Summons, to this Effect (*c*):

The Lord Keeper Puckering's Speech at Opening the Seſſion.

'He ſhewed, in the firſt Place, the Antiquity, Nature, and Uſe of Parliaments. Then he ſet forth 'as the principal Matter, (which her Majeſty did 'deſire to have made known and manifeſt to all 'her loving Subjects) the great Malice of the King 'of *Spain*, which he had towards this Realm, 'and

(*b*) Probably Land-holders of Twenty Shillings *per Annum*.

(*c*) The Heads or Inſtructions for this Speech, in ſeveral Articles, were drawn up by the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley*; and are publiſhed from his MSS. by Mr. *Strype*, *Annals*, Vol. *ult.* No. LXXX. pag. 124.

'and this he ſhewed, by ſundry Inſtances; as the 'laſt intended Invaſion, his Forces then addreſſed 'out of the *Low-Countries* for that Purpoſe, to 'have been conducted by the Duke of *Parma*, &c. 'And then he proceeded in the reſt of his Oration, 'to the Purpoſe following: Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'THE high and mighty Ships that then he 'prepared and ſent for that Purpoſe, becauſe 'he found them not fit for our Seas and ſuch an 'Attempt, he is building Ships of a leſs Bulk, after 'another Faſhion; ſome like *French* Ships, ſome 'like the Shipping of *England*; and many hath 'he gotten out of the *Low-Countries*. He is now, 'for the better Invading of *England*, Planting 'him in *Britany*, a Country of more Facility to 'offend us than the *Low-Countries*; there he 'hath fortified himſelf in the moſt Strong-Holds 'of that Country.

'In *Scotland* he hath, of late, wrought moſt of 'the Nobility to conſpire againſt their King; to 'give Landing to his Forces there; and to aſſiſt 'him in his Invaſion thither. A greater Part of 'the Nobility in *Scotland* be combined in this 'Conſpiracy, and they have received great Sums 'of Money for their Service therein. And to aſ-'ſure the King of *Spain* of their Aſſiſtance, they 'have ſigned and ſent their Promiſes, ſealed, to 'the King.

'This Conſpiracy the King of *Scots* was hardly 'brought to believe, but that her Majeſty adver-'tiſed him thereof, having entertained Intelligence 'thereof, as ſhe hath of all Things done and in-'tended in thoſe Parts. And that the King might 'better adviſe thereupon, her Majeſty hath ſent 'one of her Noblemen now into *Scotland*; and 'the King hath aſſur'd her Majeſty, with all his 'Ability and Endeavour, to prevent the *Spaniard*, 'whoſe Purpoſe is on the North Parts to aſſault us 'by Land, and, on the South Side, to invade us 'by Sea; which is the moſt dangerous Practiſe that 'could be deviſed againſt us. And now the Rage 'of this Enemy being ſuch, his Forces join'd with

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'other Princes, his Adherents, greater; the Charge 'of her Majesty, for Defence of her Realm, both 'with Forces by Sea, and Armies by Land, hath 'been such, as hath both spent the Contribution 'of her Subjects, by Subsidies, and what otherwise 'they offered her; and also consumed her Trea-'sure; yea, caused her to sell Part of her High-'ness's Crown. And, it is not to be marvelled 'how all this is consumed, but rather to be 'thought how her Majesty could be able to main-'tain and defend this her Realm, against so many 'Realms conspired against us.

'Wherefore, we, her Majesty's Subjects, must, 'with all dutiful Consideration, think what is 'fit for us to do; and, with all Willingness, 'yield Part of our own, for the Defence of o-'thers, and Assistance of her Majesty, in such an 'insupportable Charge. Were the Cause between 'Friend and Friend, how much would we do for 'the Relief of one another? But the Cause is 'now between our Sovereign and ourselves: See-'ing there is so much Difference in the Parties, 'how much more forward ought we to be? The 'Aid that formerly hath been granted unto her 'Majesty in these like Cases, is with such Slack-'ness perform'd, as that the Third of what hath 'been granted, cometh not to her Majesty. A 'great Shew, a rich Grant, and a long Sum, seem-'eth to be made, but it is hard to be gotten, and 'the Sum not great which is paid. Her Majesty 'thinketh this to be, for that the wealthier Sort 'of Men turn this Charge upon the weaker, and 'upon those of worst Ability; for that one 'discharged himself, and the other is not able to 'satisfy what he is charged withal.

'These Things should be reformed by such as 'are Commissioners in this present Service.

'Her Majesty further hath willed me to signify 'unto you, that the Calling of this Parliament now, 'is not for the making of any more new Laws 'and Statutes, for there are already a sufficient 'Number both of Ecclesiastical and Temporal;

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'and so many there be, that rather than to burthen the Subjects with more, to their Grievance, 'it were fitting an Abridgment were made of those 'there are already.

'Wherefore it is her Majesty's Pleasure, that 'the Time be not spent therein: But, the principal Cause of this Parliament is, that her Majesty 'might consult with her Subjects for the better 'withstanding of those intended Invasions, which 'are now greater than were ever heretofore heard 'of. And whereas heretofore it hath been used, 'that many have delighted themselves in long Orations, full of Verbosity and of vain Ostentations, more than in speaking Things of Substance; the Time that is precious should not be 'thus spent. The Sessions cannot be long, by 'reason of the Spring-Time, 'tis fit that Gentlemen should repair to their Countries; the Justices of Assize also to go to their Circuits. So 'the good Hours should not be lost in idle Speeches, 'but the little Time we have should be bestowed 'wholly on such Businesses as are needful to be 'considered of.' And then desir'd them to elect a Speaker.

Edw. Coke, Esq. chosen Speaker.

Feb. 22. The Queen being come again to the Upper House, the Commons presented the famous *Edward Coke*, Esq. Sollicitor-General, as their Speaker; who, being placed at the Bar of the House, delivered himself as follows:

His Speech to the Queen thereupon.

'YOUR Majesty's most loving Subjects, the 'Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the 'House of Commons, have nominated me, your 'Grace's poor Servant and Subject, to be their 'Speaker. Tho' their Nomination hath hitherto 'proceeded, that they present me to speak before 'your Majesty; Yet this their Nomination is, 'only as yet, a Nomination and no Election, until your Majesty giveth Allowance and Approbation. For, as in the Heavens, a Star is but *opacum Corpus*, until it have received Light from the 'Sun; so stand I *Corpus opacum*, a mute Body, 'until

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'until your Highneſs's bright-ſhining Wiſdom 'hath looked upon me, and allowed me. How 'great a Charge this is, to be the Mouth of ſuch a 'Body as your whole Commons repreſent, to ut-'ter what is ſpoken, *Grandia Regni*, my ſmall 'Experience, being a poor Profeſſor of the Law, 'can tell. But, how unable I am to do this Of-'fice, my preſent Speech doth tell, that, of a 'Number in this Houſe, I am moſt unfit. For, 'amongſt them are many grave, many learned, 'many deep wiſe Men, and thoſe of ripe Judg-'ments: But I am untimely Fruit, not yet ripe, 'but a Bud ſcarcely bloſſomed. So, as I fear me, 'your Majeſty will ſay, *Neglectâ fruge eliguntur 'folia:* Amongſt ſo many fair Fruit ye have 'plucked a ſhaking Leaf.

'If I may be ſo bold as to remember a Speech, '(which I cannot forget) uſed the laſt Parliament, 'in your Majeſty's own Mouth, Many come 'hither *ad conſulendum qui neſciunt quid ſit conſu-'lendum*; a juſt Reprehenſion to many as to 'myſelf alſo, an untimely Fruit, my Years and 'Judgment ill befitting the Gravity of this Place. 'But, howſoever, I know myſelf the meaneſt, and 'inferior unto all that ever were before me in this 'Place; yet, in Faithfulneſs of Service, and Duti-'fulneſs of Love, I think not myſelf inferior to 'any that ever were before me. And, amidſt my 'many Imperfections, yet this is my Comfort; 'I never knew any in this Place, but, if your Ma-'jeſty gave them Favour, God, who called them 'to the Place, gave them alſo the Bleſſing to diſ-'charge it.'

The Lord Keeper having received Inſtructions from the Queen, anſwered him:

Mr. Sollicitor,

The Lord Keeper's Anſwer.

'HER Grace's Moſt Excellent Majeſty hath 'willed me to ſignify unto you, that 'ſhe hath ever well conceived of you ſince ſhe 'firſt heard of you, which will appear, when her 'Highneſs elected you from others to ſerve herſelf,

'But

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'But, by this your modeſt, wiſe, and well-compoſed Speech, you give her Majeſty further Occaſion to conceive of you, above that which ever ſhe thought was in you; by endeavouring to deject and abaſe yourſelf and your Deſert, you have diſcovered and made known your Worthineſs and Sufficiency to diſcharge the Place you are called to. And, whereas you account yourſelf *Corpus opacum*, her Majeſty, by the Influence of her Virtue and Wiſdom, doth enlighten you: and not only alloweth and approveth you, but much thanketh the Lower Houſe, and commendeth their Diſcretion in making ſo good a Choice, and electing ſo fit a Man. Wherefore now, Mr. Speaker, proceed in your Office, and go forward, to your Commendation, as you have begun.'

The Lord Keeper's Speech being ended, the Speaker began a new Speech.

The Speaker's Reply.

'COnſidering the great and wonderful Bleſſings, beſides the long Peace we have enjoy'd under your Grace's moſt happy and victorious Reign, and remembring with what Wiſdom and Juſtice your Grace hath reigned over us, we have Cauſe daily to praiſe God that ever you were given us; and the Hazard that your Majeſty hath adventured, and the Charge that you have borne for us and our Safety, ought to make us ready to lay down ourſelves and all our Living, at your Feet, to do you Service.

'After this he related the great Attempts of her Majeſty's Enemies againſt us, eſpecially the *Pope*, and the King of *Spain*, who adhered unto him. How wonderfully we were deliver'd in Eighty-Eight, and what a Favour God therein manifeſted unto her Majeſty.

'His Speech, after this, tended wholly to ſhew, out of the Hiſtory of *England* and the old State, how the Kings of *England*, ever ſince *Henry* the Third's Time, have maintained themſelves to be the Supreme Head over all Cauſes within their own

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own Dominions. And then reciting the Laws ‘ that every one made in his Time, for maintaining ‘ their own Supremacy, and excluding the *Pope*, he ‘ drew down this Proof by a Statute of every King ‘ since *Henry* the Third to *Edward* the Sixth.

‘ This ended, he came to speak of Laws, that ‘ they were so great, and so many already, they ‘ were fit to be termed *Elephantinæ Leges*. There- ‘ fore to make more Laws it might seem superflu- ‘ ous. And to him that might ask, *Quid causa ut ‘ crescant tot magna volumina Legis?* It may be an- ‘ swered, *In promptu causa est, crescit in orbe ma- ‘ lum.*

‘ The Malice of our Arch-Enemy, the Devil, ‘ though it were always great, yet never greater ‘ than now; and that *Dolus et Malum* being crept ‘ in so far amongst Men, it was requisite that sharp ‘ Ordinances should be provided to prevent them, ‘ and all Care be used for her Majesty's Preser- ‘ vation.

‘ Now am I to make unto your Majesty three ‘ Petitions, in the Name of the Commons; first, ‘ That Liberty of Speech, and Freedom from Ar- ‘ rests, according to the antient Custom of Par- ‘ liament, be granted to your Subjects; Secondly, ‘ That we may have Access unto your Royal Per- ‘ son, to present those Things that shall be consider- ‘ ed amongst us; Lastly, That your Majesty will ‘ give your Royal Assent to the Things that ‘ are agreed upon. And, for myself, I humbly ‘ beseech your Majesty, if any Speech shall fall ‘ from me, or Behaviour found in me, not decent ‘ and fit, it may not be imputed Blame upon the ‘ House, but laid upon me, and pardoned in me.’

‘ To this Speech, the Lord-Keeper, having re- ceived new Instructions from the Queen, made his Reply. ‘ In which he first commended the Speaker

The L. Keeper's further Answer.

‘ greatly for it; and then he added some Examples ‘ of History for the King's Supremacy in *Hen.* II. ‘ and other Kings before the Conquest. As to the ‘ Deliverance we received from our Enemies, and

‘ the

'the Peace we enjoyed, the Queen would have the Praiſe of all thoſe attributed to God only. Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'And, touching the Commendations given to herſelf, ſhe ſaid, "Well might we have a wiſer "Prince, but never ſhould they have one that "more regarded them, and in Juſtice would carry "an evener Stroke, without Exception of Perſons; "ſuch a Prince ſhe wiſh'd they might always "have."

'To your three Demands the Queen anſwereth; Liberty of Speech is granted you; but how far this is to be thought on, there be two Things of moſt Neceſſity, and thoſe two do moſt Harm, which are Wit and Speech: The one exerciſed in Invention, and the other in uttering Things invented. Privilege of Speech is granted, but you muſt know what Privilege you have; not to ſpeak every one what he liſteth, or what cometh in his Brain to utter that; but your Privilege is, *Aye* or *No*. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, her Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That if you perceive any idle Heads, which will not ſtick to hazard their own Eſtates; which will meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonwealth; and do exhibit any Bills to ſuch Purpoſe, that you receive them not until they be viewed and conſidered by thoſe, who it is fitter ſhould conſider of ſuch Things, and can better judge of them.

'To your Perſons all Privileges are granted, with this Caveat, that under Colour of this Privilege, no Man's Ill-Doings, or not performing of Duties, be covered and protected.

'The laſt; Free Acceſs is granted to her Majeſty's Perſon, ſo that it be upon urgent and weighty Cauſes, and at Times convenient; and when her Majeſty may be at Leiſure from other important Cauſes of the Realm.'

The firſt Bill we find brought into the Houſe of Lords, of any Note, was for the Reſtraining of *Popiſh Recuſants* to ſome certain Places of Abode. Bill againſt Popiſh Recuſants.

The

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

The Bill was first introduced, under a different Title, *viz. An Act for the restraining and punishing of vagrant and seditious Persons; who, under the feigned Pretence of Conscience and Religion, corrupt and seduce the Queen's Subjects.* Under the first Title it passed into a Law and was, no Doubt, calculated to keep up Fears against *Popery*; for no Parliament in this Reign passed without an Act to that Purpose. By this Act they were confined within five Miles of their respective Dwellings, on Forfeiture of all their Goods, Chatels, and Lands, during Life.

Another against Puritans.

But another Religious Sect, called *Puritans*, they had much Occasion at this Time to guard against, whose Principles were utterly against both the Established Church and Monarchy. The Legislature took particular Notice of these, also, in reviving a former Act *for keeping the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience.*

In the Preamble to this Act, which stands the first in our *Statute-Books* for this Year, it is declared to be made *for the preventing and avoiding of such great Inconveniences and Perils, as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries, and disloyal Persons.* The Act itself ran, 'That if any Person above the 'Age of sixteen Years, shall refuse to repair to 'some Church, or forbear to do the same for the 'Space of a Month——shall be committed to Pri-'son there to remain, without Bail or Main-Prize, 'till they shall conform——and make such open 'Submission and Declaration of their Conformity 'as the Act appoints.' The Offenders against this Statute, who refused to make this Submission, were to abjure the Realm, and not to return without her Majesty's Licence, under the Penalty of suffering as Felons without Benefit of the Clergy.

There was great Reason for passing this Law against the *Puritans* at this Time; they were grown so bold and licentious as to libel and defame both Church and State in a very open Manner. One *Hacket*, and some other Enthusiasts, bred great Dis-

Disturbances; for which, this Man, with *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, and *Studley*, were tried, convicted of High Treason, and executed this very Year. As was one *Penry*, for writing a Book called, *Martin Mar-Prelate*, the Year after; as *John Stowe*, the faithful Chronicler of these Times, relates. Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

The Annotator on *Rapin* tells us, that this Act met with great Opposition in the House of Commons, and refers us to *D'Ewes Journals* for the Speeches on both Sides the Question. But we cannot find any such great Opposition in that *Journalist's* Account of it. On *February* 28th, the Bill for reducing of disloyal Subjects to their due Obedience, was read a second Time. It was levelled, *at first*, only against the *Papists:* But, after some Arguments, amongst which, one Member asked, Whether those that came not to Church, by reason of the Mislike they had to Church-Government, were to be in the same Case with a Popish Recusant? The Matter was committed to a very considerable Number of the House, for further Consideration. On the 12th of *March*, the said Committee brought in the Bill as before; and also a new one framed, on a more moderate System, which was read a first Time, and the old one drop'd. The Particulars of both Bills are given in several Articles, by the *Journalist*. The next Day, this Bill was read again, and then occasioned a farther Debate; Mr. *Sandys* said, that he thought the Bill ought to pass, as it was first meant against All Recusants, and not restrained to Popish Recusants only. And, that under this Bill, all *Brownists*, *Barrowists*, &c. ought to be included. Another Member was for the Restriction to *Papists* alone; and the Speaker said, That as the Title of the Bill, and the Preamble, ran only against such as are Enemies to the State, and Adherents to the Pope, other Recusants than Popish could not be comprised in it; since another Bill might be framed against those Persons, and these not included in it. Mr. *Dalton* argued, that the Sectaries ought to be comprised in this Bill, as well as Papists; that the Pre- Debate thereon.

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Preamble might be altered, and be to repreſs all diſloyal Subjects, and force them to a more due Obedience: Or, it might be wholly left out, and go directly to the Act itſelf, for, he cited ſeveral Bills overthrown by too many ſuperfluous Words in the Preamble. Dr. *Lewin* made a long Speech againſt the *Browniſts* and *Barrowiſts*; and concluded, that they ought to be provided againſt as well as *Papiſts:* But, whether in this or another Bill, he left it to the Wiſdom of the Houſe. After all which, the ſaid Bill was re-committed to the former Committee apointed on the ſecond Reading of it; and a new Bill framed againſt diſloyal Subjects, *&c.* both which paſſed the Houſe, without any more remarkable Oppoſition.

But, we cannot avoid taking Notice here, what Sentiments Mr. *Rapin* hath left us concerning the Severity of this Law. It hath been more than once taken Notice of, in the Courſe of theſe Enquiries, how ſtrangely negligent, that Celebrated Writer of *Engliſh* Hiſtory hath been, in giving the Proceedings of *Engliſh* Parliaments. And, in the Courſe of this very Reign, we ſhould ſcarce know, by his Performance, there was any called, were it not that his Tranſlator, Mr. *Tindal*, hath drawn a ſhort Account of them into his Notes. But now, the laſt-mentioned Act of Parliament, againſt *Puritans*, fires his Reſentment. The Hardſhips the Diſſenters of *England* ſuffered, by this Act, are painted in very ſtrong Colours; and the Proſecution of them laid on the *Engliſh* Epiſcopal Clergy. Nay, this *Proteſtant* Queen, herſelf, for this and other Severities againſt the *Puritans*, is treated, by this Hiſtorian, in a very coarſe Manner, throughout the whole Series of her Reign. We are perſuaded we cannot do this Author more Juſtic than to tranſcribe his whole Paragraph; and leave any further Judgment of it to the Impartiality of our Readers.

'The Parliament meeting in *February*, 1593, paſſed an Act, which troubled not only the Catholicks, but even Proteſtants who differed in certain Points from the Church of *England*, and were called

ed *Puritans*. By this Act, those who neglected to be present at Divine Service, established by Law, were liable to certain Penalties; and so, not only was it no longer permitted to be a Roman-Catholick with Impunity, but even a Protestant without conforming to the Church of *England*. 'Thus in some Measure were renewed the Days of *Henry* VIII. when it was unlawful to swerve ever so little from the Religion of the Sovereign; with this Difference, that under *Elizabeth* the Penalty was not Death, as in the Reign of her Father. Nevertheless there was in this last Act something more hard than in those of *Henry* VIII. That Prince, absolute as he was, contented himself with punishing such as, by some Overt-Act, opposed the established Religion; but by this new Statute, the Subjects were obliged openly to profess the Religion of the Church of *England*. *Elizabeth*, exasperated against the Catholicks, who had made frequent Attempts upon her Crown and even her Life, would have been very glad to have cleared the Kingdom of them. On the other Hand, she could not endure the Puritans, looking upon them as obstinate People, who for very frivolous Causes bred a Schism in the Protestant Church. Whilst she was in Danger from the Queen of *Scots*, *France*, and *Spain*; in a Word, whilst her Affairs remained in a Sort of Uncertainty, she left the Puritans unmolested, for fear of uniting them in the same Interest with the Catholicks. But no sooner was she firmly established, but she hearkened to the Suggestions of the Clergy, who represented the Puritans as seditious Persons, who rebelled against the Laws, and by their Disobedience shook the Foundations of the Government. This is not the only Time, nor is *England* the only State, where Disobedience in Point of Religion has been confounded with Rebellion against the Sovereign. There is scarce a Christian State, where the Prevailing Sect will suffer the least Division, or the least Swerving from the established Opinions; no, not even in private. Shall I venture to say it? 'Tis

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

Mr. Rapin's Remarks on the Bill against Puritans, &c.

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'Tis the Clergy chiefly who support this ſtrange Principle of Non-Toleration, ſo little agreeable to Chriſtian Charity. The Severity which from this Time began to be exerciſed in *England* upon the Non-Conformiſts, produced terrible Effects in the following Reigns, and occaſioned Troubles and Factions, which remain to this Day, and of which perhaps there will be no End theſe many Years.'

The Houſe of Lords make a Contribution for the Relief of maim'd Soldiers, &c.

But, to proceed, on much better Authority,—— The Lords *Journals* tell us, that *March* 13th, this Seſſion, on a Motion of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, the Lords condeſcended to a Contribution, for the Relief of ſuch poor Soldiers, as went begging about the Streets of *London*, after this Rate. That every Earl ſhould give 40*s.* every Biſhop 30*s.* every Baron 20*s.* and appointed the ſaid Biſhop of *Worceſter* and the Lord *Norris*, Collectors; and the Earl of *Eſſex* and the Lord *Willoughby*, Diſtributors thereof. Theſe laſt Lords had been Generals abroad, and therefore propereſt to diſburſe this Charity. But the Matter did not reſt here; for, on the 9th day of *April*, another Entry is made, That,

Their Order thereupon.

'Whereas the Lords of Parliament, both Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled, in the Parliament-Chamber, at *Weſtminſter*, have all, with uniform Conſent, in their own Names, and the reſt of the Lords abſent, ordered, That there ſhould be a charitable Relief and Contribution made towards the Aid and Help of a Number of Soldiers, that are ſeen, in the Time of this Parliament, maimed and ſore hurt, in the Wars of *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and over the Seas for the Service of the Queen's Majeſty and this Realm: And for that Purpoſe have allotted, that every Archbiſhop, Marquis, Earl, and Viſcount, ſhould pay towards this Contribution the Sum of forty Shillings, every Biſhop thirty, and every Baron twenty Shillings; for collecting whereof there hath been appointed the Queen's Majeſty's Almoner, the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, for the Biſhops, and the Lord *Norris* for the Lords Temporal, which hath been diligently done and received of

all

all those Lords who have attended their great Charge in Parliament: And, considering the Number of the Soldiers, being many to be relieved, notwithstanding the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Lower House, have yielded very good and large Contribution, according to their Degrees; yet, for the better Relief of the said maimed Soldiers, it is by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that have given their chargeable Attendance, and also charitably and honourably yielded to this Contribution, thought meet, and so it is ordered and decreed by them, with common and full Assent; That all the Lords of Parliament, who have been altogether absent in this Session, and that shall not have contributed to this Charity before the End of this Session, shall be required, by Letters sent to them, by the Lords their Proxies in their Absence, or from the Lord-Keeper of the great Seal, requiring and charging them, to make Payment, according to their Degrees and Vocation, the Double of the Sums of Money paid by the Lords that have been here present, and continued their Attendance; that is to say, Every absent Earl, with the Archbishop of *York*, four Pounds; every absent Bishop of Pounds; and every Baron forty Shillings. Likewise, such Lords as have attended sometimes, tho' seldom, shall, according to their Degrees, pay a third Part more than the Lords that are constant here. All such Sums of Money shall be delivered to the Lord Keeper, and afterwards distributed, by such Lords as are chosen for that Purpose, to the maimed Soldiers that stand the most in need thereof. And, as the Commons, in this present Parliament, have rated their absent Members double, so we think this Order very just; considering the absent Lords and others who have been at no Charge to come up and give their Attendance, may, very reasonably, and with great Saving of their Charge, contribute to this Order. And, if any Lord, Spiritual or Temporal, shall refuse or forbear to do this, (which it

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

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'is hoped in Honour none ſhall do) there ſhall be 'ordinary Means uſed to levy the ſame.'

This charitable Order of the Houſe is extracted at Length, to ſhew the good Diſpoſition of this Parliament in relieving, out of their own Pockets, the Neceſſities of their brave Countrymen. But this was not all; they reſolved to make the reſt of the Kingdom contribute to the ſame, by bringing in a Bill for the Relief of Soldiers and Mariners; by which Act every Pariſh was charged with a Sum, weekly, for the Relief of ſick, hurt and maimed Soldiers and Seamen. Which Act is the firſt of its Kind for this charitable and neceſſary Purpoſe, though ſeveral more ſucceeded it in this Reign; and, in later Days, two Royal Hoſpitals have been built, for the ſame Uſe, which are now, certainly, the brighteſt Ornaments of *Great Britain*.

An Act for their Relief.

The Annaliſt, Mr. *Strype*, hath reſtored to us a famous Speech of the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh's*, made ſome Day this Seſſion in the Houſe of Lords, but when is not mentioned. It may therefore be ſuppos'd to be ſpoke before the Subſidy Bill came up from the Commons, in order to acquaint the Lords with the State of the Nation at that Time, and prepare them for furthering the Supply. Our Author ſays he copied it from a Manuſcript of the Lord Treaſurer's own Hand-Writing; nor muſt this Speech, nor the Schedule of the Queen's extraordinary Charges on account of the War, annexed to it, want a Place in this Hiſtory.

Lord Burleigh's Speech for a Supply.

'TO make a Declaration of the firſt Cauſe, 'and original Beginning, whereby her 'Majeſty was provoked to arm her Realms with 'Forces, were a Labour loſt in this Place: Where 'in former Times the ſame hath been often de'clared; and wherein a great Number of the No'bility here preſent have heard many Circumſtan'ces thereof, at the Proceedings with the late 'Queen of *Scots*. For whom, and by whom, the 'Quarrels were firſt made againſt the Queen's Ma-

'jesty's Person, against the Religion and Quietness of the Realm. Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'And therefore, leaving the Repetition of that 'Cause, by which her Majesty was detained in a 'Kind of War, to withstand both the Kings of '*France* and *Spain*, who intermeddled in the Case 'of the Queen of *Scots* against her Majesty; yet 'there hath followed continually such a deadly Ma- 'lice from the King of *Spain*, the Bishop of *Rome*, 'and their Confederates, as unto this Day, wherein 'no Intermission hath been of Attempts against 'her Majesty and the Realm; altho' at some Time 'more vehement than at some others; as appeared 'in the Year 88, by his open Armies both by 'Sea and Land; being of greater Force than ever 'was known to be made by his Father the Emperor '*Charles*, or by himself, or by any Christian Prince 'within the Memory of Man.

'But minding to overpass all the Attempts afore 'that huge Enterprize, that was frustrate by God's 'special Goodness beyond the Expectation of the 'World: And considering there hath been no As- 'sembly of Parliament since that Time, wherein her 'Majesty might publickly declare to the States of 'her Realm the Continuance of the former At- 'tempts, but the Increase of more Dangers than 'were seen in any Time before. Therefore, as 'was delivered by the Lord-Keeper of the Great 'Seal, her Majesty hath summarily imparted the 'same to this Assembly, referring the Considera- 'tion thereof to the whole three Estates, whereof 'two are in this Place; how the same Danger 'may be withstood, and by what Provision her 'Majesty and Realm may be preserved in domestic 'Peace, as yet it is, as in a Center of Happiness, 'where the Circumference is in open Calamity.

'And, because it is all our Parts and Duties, first 'to God, and to our Sovereign Head, and our na- 'tive Country, to apply all our Endeavour, being 'every one of us called to this Place, by special 'Commandment, in express Words, upon Con- 'sideration of the Hardness of the Business, and the

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'Perils imminent, to treat with her Majesty, and 'with the Prelates and Great Men of the Realm, 'and to give our Counsels, so as it is convenient for 'us all; first to consider the Perils, and then to give 'Counsel:

'Therefore in discharging of my Duty, with 'your Patience in suffering an old Man, besides 'his Years, decayed in his Spirits with Sickness, 'to declare some Part of his Knowledge of the 'Dangers and Perils imminent; But for Advice 'and Counsel how to withstand the same, I shall 'be constrained, for Lack of sufficient Understanding in so great Cause, to require some further 'Conference with your Lordships, or with so many 'as shall appear more able than I am, to give some 'good Entry thereto.

'As to the Dangers, that they be great and imminent, that they have both lately grown, and 'likely to increase, these be manifest Arguments. 'First, the King of *Spain*, since he hath usurped 'upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, he hath thereby 'grown mighty by gaining the *East Indies*. So as 'how great soever he was before, he is now thereby more manifestly great. But for Increase 'hereof, to be greater; yea, greater that any Christian Prince hath been; he hath lately joined 'with his intended Purpose, newly to invade this 'Realm, with more Might than before he did the 'Invasion of *France*, by sundry Ways. Not as in 'former Times, when the Emperor *Charles* and 'the *French*, Kings, the great *Francis* and the warlike *Henry*, made former Wars for Towns, their 'greatest Wars; yea, when the present King of 'Spain had his great Army against *Henry* of *France*. 'For in those Wars none of them intended to do 'any thing more, but to be revenged of supposed 'Injuries, by burning or winning of some frontier 'Towns by Besieging. And after such Revenges 'mutually had to the Satisfaction of their Appetites; wherein neither Party had any special Advantage, they fell to Truces, and in the End with 'Knots sometimes of Intermarriages. And by

'these

'these Kinds of Wars none of them did increase in Greatness, to be dangerous to their Enemies. And in these Kinds of Wars, our Kings of *England* had their Interest, for the most Part, to the Expence of Men and Money; and never to the Loss of any small Portion of any Ground in *England* and *Wales*, nor otherwise: But by yielding to the King of *Spain*, by means of the Marriage of Queen *Mary*, to make War with *France*. the Realm lost that noble Town and Port of *Calais*, with great Seignories and Territories thereunto belonging. Queen Elizabeth: 1523-9.

'But now the Case is altered. The King of *Spain* maketh these his mighty Wars, by Means only of his *Indies*; not purposely to burn a Town in *France* or *England*, but to conquer all *France*, *England* and *Ireland*. And for Proof hereof—— First for *France*, he hath invaded *Britain*, taken the Port, builded his Fortresses, carried in his Army; waged a Navy in *Britain*; received into Wages a great Number of his Subjects, as Rebels to *France*. And there he keepeth a Navy armed, to impede all Trade from *England* to *Gascoign* and *Guyenne*; which he attempted to do this last Vintage. And so he had had his Purpose, if to the great Charges of the Merchants, and by Countenance of her Majesty's Navy, sent to the Coast of *Britain*, the Shipping of *England* had not been much stronger than his. Besides this his possessing a great Part of *Britain*, towards *Spain*, he hath, at his Commandment, all the best Ports of *Britain* towards *England*. So as now he is become as a Frontier Enemy to all the West of *England*. And by his Commandment, and his waged Troops in *Newhaven*, he hath enlarged his Frontiers now against all the South Parts of *England*, as *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, Isle of *Wight*. Yea by means of his Interest in St *Malo's*, a Port full of Shipping for the War, he is a dangerous Neighbour to the Queen's Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, antient Possessions of this Crown, and never conquer'd in the greatest Wars with *France*.

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'Of this Matter of *Britain* a Man might enlarge, 'the Danger ſo great to *England*, as if he had at- 'tempted nothing at all in *Normandy* and *France*; 'yet the Danger hereof might appear ſo great, as 'ought to induce *England* to ſpare no Coſt to with- 'ſtand it. And herewith he is not contented to 'ſeek this Dukedom, but he deſtines all his Forces 'to conquer the Kingdom of *France*, the principal 'Kingdom of *Chriſtendom:* And, to atchieve his 'Enterprize, he hath, theſe two Years-day and 'more, corrupted, with great Sums of Money and 'large Penſions, certain factious Noblemen, not 'of the Blood of *France*, nor the great Officers of 'the Crown; and by them, and with theſe Re- 'bels, and by waging of his Soldiers in ſome of 'the principal Towns of *France*, as *Paris*, *Roan*, '*Orleans*, *Lyons*, *Toloze*, and others, he hath pro- 'cured a Rebellion againſt the King, againſt all 'the Princes of the Blood, againſt all the great Of- 'ficers of the Crown. But finding theſe Rebels 'not ſtrong enough of themſelves, notwithſtand- 'ing they are well waged by him to withſtand 'the King, he hath, to his great Charges, levied 'and ſent into *France*, even to *Paris* and *Roan*, 'Armies collected of *Walloons*, *Lorainers*, *Italians*, '*Spaniards*, *Almains*, and *Switzers*. Wherewith 'he hath twice entered into *France*; tho' God 'gave him no good Succeſs, but great Loſs and 'Reproach.

'Beſides theſe foreign Armies, ſent from the '*Low-Countries*, he hath cauſed his Son-in-Law, 'the Duke of *Savoy*, to invade *France* by *Provence* 'and *Dolphiné*, and the Duke of *Lorain* by *Bur-* 'gundy and *Champaign*, and to environ *France*. 'Further, he hath ſent Armies by Sea, out of '*Spain*, to invade *Languedoc*. And even now at this 'preſent, all theſe foreign Forces are newly made 'ready to enter into all Parts of *France*, made by a 'colourable Aſſembly of the Rebels in *Paris*, to 'repreſent the three Eſtates; yet without a King, 'or a Head. He intendeth to be a King of that 'Realm; or to make his Daughter the Queen,

'and

'and to appoint her a Husband, to be as his Vassal.' Queen Elizabeth, 1592-3.

'He hath also the Pope so addicted to him, as 'he that never was wont to send to any Parts but 'only *Italy*, by Bulls with Lead and Parchment, 'did now levy and send an Army into *France*. 'And tho' he coloureth it with Matter of Defence 'of Catholick Religion, yet both he and the King 'of *Spain* make War against all the Princes of the 'Blood, and Officers of the Realm, being found 'Catholicks. And so they have, by their Ambassades, lately advertis'd the Pope; as by the Cardinal *Gundy*, and Marquis *Pysany*, antient Counsellors of *France*, and Catholicks. So as the 'Pretence of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, in 'that Point, are merely *France*.

'These are the Dangers in *France*, and must 'of Consequence draw *England*, into like Peril; 'without God's special Goodness, and the speedy 'Support to be given to her Majesty for Prevention thereof.

'Now to manifest the King of *Spain's* Attempt 'to invade *England*, whereof I think no good '*Englishman* so want of Feeling to think otherwise, 'yet I will remember to you divers manifest Arguments thereof; and afterwards, to supply the 'Want of any Man's Feeling only by Arguments or Tokens, I will declare to you the 'very Truth of his Determination, by manifest 'Proofs. So as none ought to think, because he 'was disappointed of his Intention for the Conquest of *England* by his huge Navy, therefore 'he will put that Disgrace up, and leave off with 'that Loss. But it is ceratin, he hath, the two 'last Years, builded a great Number of Ships of 'War, as near as he can to the Mold and Quality of the *English* Navy; finding, by Experience, 'his monstrous great Ships not fit for our narrow 'Seas. He hath lately armed a Number of Gallies on the Coast of *Britain*, which he intendeth 'to send this Summer to *Newhaven*. He hath also these two Years-day, both bought and built

'great

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'great Ships in *Eaſtland*. He hath, both from 'thence, and by Corruption of our faint and co-'vetous Neighbours in *Holland*, recovered, with 'Silver Hooks, both Mariners, Ships, Cordage, and 'all Proviſions. Theſe being now on the Point 'of Readineſs to ſerve on the Seas, a good Argu-'ment may be made, That this Navy muſt be for '*England*. For now that he hath all the Mari-'time Coaſt of *Britain*, and that he hath, in *Nor-'mandy*, *Newhaven*, there is no Service by Sea to 'enter into any Part of *France* with this Navy.

'How he and the Pope ply themſelves to win 'a Party in *England* to be ready to ſecond his In-'vaſion, I am ſorry and loth to relate; and how 'far they have prevailed herein to gain ſo great a 'Multidude of vulgar People; yea, of ſome that are 'of Wealth and Countenance, to adhere to theſe 'Invaders at their Entry, with vain Hopes to at-'tain to the Places, Honours, and Livelihoods, of 'ſuch as are now known true, natural *Engliſh-'men*, and good Subjects.

'But, to ſuch as theſe, Arguments will not ſuf-'fice to be perſuaded, that this Intention of the 'King of *Spain*, to invade this Realm, is certain; 'this that followeth ſhall fully ſatisfy any Man, 'yea, any Man that uſeth to believe nothing until 'he ſhall ſee it. There are taken in *Scotland*, and 'impriſoned, certain that came firſt out of *Spain*, 'near afore *Chriſtmas*, from the King; who be-'fore had been ſent out of *Scotland* to the King 'of *Spain*. Theſe Meſſengers brought Aſſurance 'to certain Noblemen of the greateſt Calling in '*Scotland*, that if they would ſend their Bonds, 'under their Hands and Seals, to ſerve the King of '*Spain*, for the Invaſion of *England*, by Land, 'next Summer, the King would ſend an Army of '25,000 to the Weſt of *Scotland*; and would give 'the Noblemen Wages for 10,000 *Scots*, to be 'joined with 20,000 of his, to invade *England*; 'and would keep 5000 of his in *Scotland*, to aid 'them to over-rule the King of *Scots*, and to 'change the Religion. This Accord was per-

'fected

'fected by three Noblemen, Earls *Arrol*, *Huntley*, and *Angus*; promising their own Assistance, besides Assurance, in general Words, of divers more, not yet discovered. And for an Earnest-Penny, these Earls have received good Sums of Money from the *Low-Countries*. Queen Elizabet 1592-3.

'Now for Proof hereof, the Messenger that was sent, and on Ship-Board, was taken; with the Bonds of the Noblemen, some signed and sealed by them all, and of every Earl a Part, in several Bonds in *French* and *Latin*. The Messenger hath confessed the whole to the King, who so carefully proceeded therein as if he had not travailed therein himself; such of his Council as were appointed to examine the Parties that were taken, durst not for fear of the Greatness of the Noblemen, that had offended, and were not fled, examine the Messenger of any thing that might concern these Noblemen. They are since all fled; and the King hath gathered of his good Subjects a certain Power to pursue them. But it is doubted, that they will flee into the West Islands. And from thence either to pass into *Spain*, or to have Forces sent out of *Spain*. But the King, the Day before he went, caused one *Fentry*, an old Practiser with *Spain*, for the Queen of *Scots*, a Man of a good House and great Wealth, to be executed, being a principal Contriver of this Conspiracy. To animate the King to follow this Action, her Majesty hath sent my Lord of *Bourgh*.

'Thus far have I observed my Purpose, to shew the Danger; and to give Counsel to the Remedy, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*. And I would gladly to have some Company, of whom I might have some Light, how to find out the Darkness of the Question; Wherein, when Time shall serve, I will not be silent, but deliver mine Opinion, and reform it upon good Ground.'

The

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

The Queen's Extraordinary Charges, by Means of the War, moved by the King of Spain. *Set down by the Lord-Treasurer, in the same Paper with the foregoing Speech.*

For Defence of the *Low-Countries* by Year —— —	130,000*l.*
For the Charge in Mr. *Huddleston's* Time, for——Years ———	154,000*l.*
To the Earl of *Leicester* for *Sluce*	31,000*l.*
To Sir *Thomas Shirley*, *Feb.* 1586.	531,120*l.*
Total,	846,120*l.*
In *Normandy* with my Lord *Willoughby*, for 6000 Men,	49,283*l.*
In *Normandy* with my Lord of *Essex*, with —— Thousand Men. In *Britain* with Sir *John Norris*, with 4000 Men. In aiding the *French* King with Money. For Maintenance of the Navy on the Narrow Seas, sometimes with 800, sometimes with 700, sometimes with 600,	232,000*l.*
Besides the ordinary keeping of the Navy at 1200*l.* a Month; *per Annum* ———	14,400*l.*
For the Office of the Ordnance	62,000*l.*
Scotland - - - -	15,000*l.*
In all	1,218,803*l.*

March the 24th. The Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords, which was entitled, *An Act for the Grant of three entire* Subsidies *and six* Fifteenths *and* Tenths, *by the Temporality*; and it passed the House of Lords, on the 30th, without any Opposition.

A large Subsidy.

This is all that the *Journals* of the Lords give us; but, that of the Commons is not so barren. For

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

For after the Ceremonies of the Opening this Session were finished, the next Thing we find entered, is, 'That on *February* 24th Mr. *Peter Wentworth* and Sir *Henry Bromley* delivered a Petition to the Lord Keeper, therein desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be Suppliants, with them of the Lower, unto her Majesty for *Entailing the Succession of the Crown*; for which they had a Bill ready drawn.'

This Matter was highly resented by the Queen, as contrary to her former strict Commands. They were soon after called before the Council; and, though the Lords there spoke favourably to them, yet, they were told that her Majesty was so highly offended at them that they must be committed. Accordingly, Mr. *Wentworth* was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, Sir *Henry Bromley* to the *Fleet*; and one Mr. *Richard Stevens* and Mr. *Welch*, two other Members concerned in drawing the Petition, were sent to the *Fleet* with him.

Four Members committed by the Privy Council, for proposing a Bill for Entailing the Succession of the Crown.

This is, an odd Beginning of a Parliament; and shewed the Queen's Resolution to maintain the Prerogative of the Crown in a very high Degree. How long these four Members were confined is uncertain; for, on the 10th of *March* one Mr. *Wroth*, we are told, moved the House, on the Subsidy-Bill, 'That since some Countries might complain of these very large Taxations, their Knights and Burgesses never consenting, not being present at the Grant: And, because, an Instrument, by taking away some of its Strings, can give but an unpleasant Sound: Therefore, he desired that the House would be humble Suitors to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to set at Liberty those Members of it that were restrained.'

This was opposed by all the Members of the Privy-Council in that House; who argued 'That her Majesty had committed them for Reasons best known to herself; and for them to press her in that Suit was but to make their Case the worse. They added, that it was not to be doubted but her Majesty, of her gracious Disposition, would shortly do

it

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

it of her own Accord, and that it was much better to have it left to herſelf than ſought for by them.

It is ſtrange that *Camden* hath not one Word of this memorable Accident, who was Cotemporary and muſt be acquainted with it. However, this Severity of the Queen's had its Effect; for no more Mention is made of Settling the Succeſſion in this Parliament, nor in any other of her Reign.

Debates in the Commons, on the Supply.

On the 26th of *February*, the Buſineſs of a Supply was moved in this Houſe; our *Journaliſt* is very particular in the Speeches made on that Occaſion, by the Miniſters of State who were Members of that Houſe, *&c.* We are told they were not entered in the Original Journal Book of the Commons, but taken from an Anonymous Manuſcript *Journal*, kept by ſome Member of it. This Gentleman proves to be *Heywood Townſhend*, Eſq. who hath left a Collection of all the Proceedings in the four laſt Parliaments of *Elizabeth*, which were printed, *Folio*, *London* 1680. The Journals of Sir *Symonds Dewes* were not publiſhed till two Years after, but then they were poſthumous, and dedicated to Sir *Willoughby Dewes* his Son; ſo that it is probable he never knew who was the Author of the former. This being premiſed, we next proceed to the Speeches on the Supply, and firſt Sir *Robert Cecil*.

Mr. Speaker,

'As I remember, I have been of this Houſe 'theſe five Parliaments; and I have not determi- 'ned to ſay any thing, in theſe Aſſemblies, further 'than my Cogitations ſhould concur with my Con- 'ſcience in ſaying bare *Aye*, or *No*. Give me leave, 'I pray you, to rehearſe an old Saying, and it is 'in Latin, *Nec te collaudes, nec te vituperes ipſe*; 'for me to do the one were exceeding Arroganc', 'and to do the other, I do confeſs, I hope, you 'will pardon me.

'The Occaſion of this Parliament, as I take it 'by that which we received from the honourable 'and learned Speech of the Lord Keeper of and from

'from her Majesty to us in the Higher House, is Queen Elizabeth.
'for the Cause of Religion and Maintenance there- 1592-3.
'of amongst us, the Preservation of her Majesty's
'most Royal Person, and the Good of this Realm
'of our Country. All which because they be
'things of most dear and greatest Price, and at
'this present in exceeding great and imminent
'Danger, it is most behoofful to consult of speedy
'Remedies, which should proceed from the wisest
'Heads. The Enemy to these is the King of
'*Spain*, whose Malice and Ambition is such, as
'together with the *Pope*, that Antrichrist of *Rome*,
'(for I may well couple them together, the one
'being always accompanied with Envy at our
'Prosperity, the other with unsatiable Desire) makes
'them by all Means to seek the Subversion of the
'State. But concerning the first, The Cause of
'God and his Religion, which her Majesty pro-
'fessed before she came to sit in this Royal Seat,
'which she hath defended and maintained, and for
'which Cause God hath so blessed her Govern-
'ment since her Coming to the Crown: Yea,
'while the Crown was scarce warm on her Head,
'she abolished the Authority of *Rome*, and did set
'up God's Truth amongst us; and to her great
'Renown made this little Land to be a Sanctuary
'for all the persecuted Saints of God: Whereby
'the People perceived her Magnanimity, Zeal and
'Judgment; Magnanimity in undertaking so great
'an Enterprize; Zeal in professing the same, not
'for the Shew, but of Sincerity; Judgment in de-
'fending it and preventing all the *Pope's* De-
'signs. He sent forth his Bulls and Missives against
'her Majesty, thereby unnaturally depriving her
'of her natural Right, the Duty and Loyalty
'which her Subjects should owe unto her, *&c.* He
'touched the many Dangers her Majesty had been
'in, which as it caused him to fear to think, so did
'he tremble to speak concerning the Danger of our
'Country, and so the Loss of our Lives, Liber-
'ties, Wives, Children, annd all other Privileges.
'Let me not trouble you with things past so long,
'and

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'and perhaps beyond my Reach, but with Things 'paſt of late Years and ſince Eighty Eight. When 'we were ſo ſecure, and never thought that the 'King of *Spain* would have ſet up his Reſt for '*England*; then ſent he his Navy termed *Invin-* 'cible, and was almoſt upon the Backs of us before 'we were aware. Yea, we were ſo ſlack in Pro- 'viſion, that it was too late to make Reſiſtance, 'had not God preſerved us. His Attempt againſt 'us, by ſeeking to win the *Low-Countries* and to 'obtain *Ireland*, being but Trifles and paultry De- 'vices, which I mean not to trouble you with; he 'hath now of late gone about to win *France*, 'wherein he hath greatly prevailed, as in *Lorrain* 'and in other Parts, as you have heard, but ſpe- 'cially in *Britany*, having moſt Part of the Port- 'Towns in his Poſſeſſion, whither he ſtill ſendeth 'Supply daily, and reinforces them every four or 'five Months, which Port is always open and his 'Men and Forces never wanting. This Province 'he eſpecially deſireth, for it lyeth moſt fitly to 'annoy us, whither he may ſend Forces continual- 'ly, and there have his Navy in a Readineſs; the 'which he could not ſo eaſily, unleſs he had the 'Wind in a Bag. Beſides, having this Province, 'he will keep us from Traffick to *Rochell* and '*Bourdeaux*, as he doth in the Streights from *Tri-* 'poly and St. *Jean de Luze*: And ſo hinder us from 'carrying forth and bringing into this Land any 'Commodities from thoſe Parts, whereby the 'Realm might be inriched and her Majeſty's Im- 'poſt increaſed, being one of the greateſt Reve- 'nues of her Crown. He hath alſo gone about 'with them of *Stode* and the King of *Poland*, one 'of his own Faction, and who by reaſon he can- 'not do in that Kingdom what he liſteth, he may 'not ſo eaſily command him to impede, or hin- 'der our Traffick in thoſe Eaſtern Parts, which if 'he could bring to paſs, you ſee how hurtful it 'would be to this Land.

'But to deſcend yet lower into theſe latter Ac- 'tions. He hath ſeen it is but a Folly to make

'Wooden-

'Wooden-Bridges to pass into *England*, therefore Queen Elizabeth.
'he hath found out a surer Way and stronger Pas- 1592-3.
'sage into it by Land, and that by *Scotland*; which
'though it be not talked of on the *Exchange*, nor
'preached at *Paul's* Cross, yet it is most true; and
'in *Scotland* as common as the High-way, "That
"he hath procured unto him many of the Nobility
"there." It may be he hath sent thither no great
'Navy, and that her Majesty would not suffer him
'to do; yet, do what she can, some one Paltry
'Fly-Boat may escape her Majesty's Ships, and
'carry Gold enough in her to make them Traitors,
'and stir them to Sedition. These Things her
'Majesty understood before, and advertised the
'King thereof; which the Effect hath proved to
'be true. For unless I be deceived, the last Let-
'ters, that came from thence, might shew that the
'King is gone to make a Road into the North, and
'to bring back the Lord *Bothwell* and the Lord
'*Huntly*. The King of *Spain's* Malice thus daily
'increaseth against us, and seeketh also to stir up
'Sedition amongst us by his Instruments. The
'Number also of *Papists* daily increaseth, or at
'leastwise becomes more manifest. My Advice is,
'that you would consult how to withstand such
'imminent Dangers, which the greater they be,
'the sooner they should be looked into and remem-
'bred. Wherefore I would desire Mr. Speaker,
'that he would appoint some Committees of the
'sufficientest and wisest Men in the House to con-
'sider thereon.'

Then Sir *John Wolley* spake to the like Effect, saying, 'That upon the Cause of the Dan-
'ger the Realm was now in, and of the Remedy,
'his Speech should consist; which he likened to a
'natural Body, in which the more Danger the
'principal Member was in, the greater Means there
'should be used for the Preservation thereof.
'*Roan* being made now Admiral of *France* by
'the League, should say, that he was a poor Ad-
'miral now, but yet he doubted not, but that short-

Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.

'ly he ſhould be able to bring ſuch a Navy as ſhould 'terrify the Queen of *England*. Alſo he ſhewed 'how the Princes of the Holy League had conſpi-'red the Overthrow of the Realm, the Extirpation 'of Religion, and the Confuſion of her Majeſty 'and her loyal Subjects. And exhorted the Houſe 'now, becauſe the Seaſon of the Year groweth on 'which calleth many of the Knights and Burgeſſes 'to be in their Countries, beſides the Sickneſs being 'in the Town, ſo that many of that Houſe 'knew not whether they lodged in Houſes infected 'or not, that they would ſeek to diſpatch and end 'the Parliament ſo ſoon as might be. He alſo 'ſhewed how the *Dunkirkers* troubled our Fiſher-'men in ſmall Barks upon the Sea-coaſts. And 'ſo that this Matter might be committed to ſome 'of the ſufficienteſt in the Houſe. He alſo ex-'horted the Houſe to a ſpeedy Agreeing of a Sub-'ſidy: Which, conſidering the Dangers we were 'in, and that it was for our own Good, as alſo, 'for her Majeſty's, he hoped that no good Subject 'but would willingly agree to it. Alſo, he ſhew-'ed, that the Wars with the King of *Spain* had 'coſt her Majeſty a Million of Money: But this 'he avouched, that where it coſt her Majeſty one, 'it coſt the King of *Spain* three.'

Then Sir *John Forteſcue* ſaid, 'They that ſpake 'before me, ſpake ſufficiently of the Authors of 'our Trouble's of the great Danger which is now 'imminent, inſomuch that it is come to this 'Point now, *Non utrum imperare, ſed utrum vi-'vere.* I will ſpeak of nothing but that which 'concerns my Calling. Her Majeſty not being 'only careful for the Preſervation of her own 'Realm, but of her Neighbours alſo; ſhe hath not 'only defended her own Subjects from being in-'vaded, but alſo hath aided Strangers which want-'ed Money, with whom otherwiſe it would have 'gone ill by this Time both with them and our-'ſelves. Inſomuch that the Burthen of four 'Kingdoms hath reſted upon her Majeſty which

'eſh

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

‘ she hath maintained with her Purse, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. For how could ‘ the *French* King, at his first Coming to the ‘ Crown, have held out against those Leaguers, had ‘ not her Majesty assisted him with her Men and ‘ Money, which hath cost her Majesty above a ‘ hundred thousand Pound? For it is well known ‘ that the *French* King had not been able to with- ‘ stand the Duke of *Parma's* coming into *France*, ‘ had it not been for our *English* Men and Money. ‘ As for the *Low-Countries*, they have stood her ‘ Majesty yearly, since she undertook the Defence of ‘ them, one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds.— ‘ All which her Majesty bestowed for the Good of ‘ the Realm, to free us from War at home. Be- ‘ sides, when her Majesty came to the Crown, she ‘ found it four Millions indebted; her Navy when ‘ she came to view it, she found greatly decayed: ‘ Yet all this She hath discharged, and (Thanks to ‘ God) is nothing indebted; and now she is able to ‘ match any Prince in *Europe* which the *Spaniards* ‘ found when they came to invade us. Yea, she ‘ hath with her Ships compassed the whole World, ‘ whereby this Land is made famous throughout ‘ all Places. She did find in her Navy all Iron- ‘ Pieces, but she hath furnished it with Artillery of ‘ Brass; so that one of her Ships is not a Subject's, ‘ but rather a petty King's Wealth. As for her own ‘ private Expences, they have been little in Build- ‘ ing; she hath consumed little or nothing in her ‘ Pleasures. As for her Apparel, it is Royal and ‘ Princely, beseeming her Calling, but not sump- ‘ tuous nor excessive. The Charges of her House ‘ small, yea, never less in any King's Time. And ‘ shortly (by God's Grace) she will free her Sub- ‘ jects from that Trouble which hath come by the ‘ Means of Purveyors. Wherefore she trusteth, ‘ that every good Subject will assist her Majesty ‘ with his Purse, seeing it concerns his own Good ‘ and the Preservation of his Estate. For before ‘ that any of us would lose the least Member of ‘ his Body, we would bestow a great deal, and

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'ſtick for no Coſt nor Charges: How much more 'ought we in this political Body, whereof not only a Member but the whole is in Jeopardy, if 'we do not make haſte to the Preſervation thereof? And for theſe Subſidies which are granted 'nowadays to her Majeſty, they are leſs by half than 'they were in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time. 'Now although her Majeſty has borrowed ſome 'Money of her Subjects beſides her Subſidies, yet 'ſhe has truly repaid and anſwered every one 'fully. I deſire the Matter may be put to a 'Committee.'

Mr. *Francis Bacon* ſpake to the Effect following, *viz.* 'That which theſe Honourable Perſo-'nages have ſpoken of their Experiences, May it 'pleaſe you to give me leave likewiſe to deliver of 'my common Knowledge. The Cauſe of Aſ-'ſembling all Parliaments hath been hitherto for 'Laws or Moneys: The one being the Sinews of 'Peace, the other of War. To the one I am 'not privy, but the other I ſhould know. I did 'take great Contentment in her Majeſty's Speech 'the other Day delivered by the Lord-Keeper, 'how that it was a Thing not to be done ſuddenly 'nor at one Parliament, nor ſcarce a whole Year 'would ſuffice to purge the Statute-Book, and leſ-'ſen the Volume of Laws; being ſo many in 'Number, that neither common People can prac-'tiſe them, nor the Lawyer ſufficiently underſtand 'them: Than the which nothing ſhould tend 'more to the Praiſe of her Majeſty.

'The *Romans* appointed ten Men, who were 'to correct and recal all former Laws, and to ſet 'forth thoſe twelve Tables ſo much of all Men to 'be commended. The *Athenians* likewiſe appoint-'ed ſix for that Purpoſe. And *Lewis* the IXth, 'King of *France*, did the like in Reforming his Laws.' The reſt of his Argument tended to the appointing a ſelect and grave Committee, both to conſider of the Danger of the Realm, and of ſpeedy Supply and Aid to be given to her Majeſty. 'And 'thereupon

thereupon the Houſe did accordingly nominate the ſaid Committee, to deliberate and conſult in what Proportion they might now relieve her Majeſty with Subſidies, in reſpect of thoſe many and great Enemies againſt whoſe Power and Malice ſhe was to provide, and prepare for neceſſary Defence and Preſervation of her Realms and Dominions.' Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

Debate on a Motion for a Bill to reform the Abuſes of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

On the 27th of *February* Mr. *Morrice* mov'd the Houſe, 'Touching the hard Courſes of the Biſhops and Ordinaries, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges in their Courts, uſed towards ſundry learned and godly Miniſters and Preachers of this Realm, by way of Inquiſition, Subſcription and binding Abſolution, contrary (he ſaid) to the Honour of God, the Regality of her Majeſty, the Laws of this Realm, and the Liberty of the Subjects of the ſame; compelling them, upon their own Oaths, to accuſe themſelves in their own private Actions, Words and Thoughts, if they ſhall take ſuch Oaths, becauſe they know not to what Queſtions they ſhall anſwer till after the Time they be ſworn; and alſo after ſuch Examination proceed againſt them by Deprivation, Degradation or Suppreſſion, upon ſuch their own Accuſations of themſelves. And if they refuſe to take ſuch Oath, then they commit them to Priſon, and there keep and detain them at their own Pleaſure, not abſolving or releaſing them until they ſhall firſt have taken a corporal Oath of their Canonical Obedience to their Ordinaries: And ſhewing further at large, the great Inconvenience thereby grown unto the free Subjects of this Realm, Doth in the End pray a Conſultation to be had therein by this Houſe, for Redreſs of the ſaid Enormities; and offereth unto Mr. Speaker two Bills, the one concerning the ſaid Inquiſitions, Subſcriptions and Offering of Oaths, and the other concerning the Impriſonments upon their Refuſal of the ſaid Oaths; praying that the ſaid latter Bill which concerneth

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'the said Imprisonments might be read, and the 'other to be offered to this House at some other 'more convenient Time.'

Mr. *Dalton* (*a*) answer'd to the following Effect, 'This Bill pretends great Things in Shew, tending to 'the Hindrance of God's Service, and the Derogation of her Majesty's Prerogative, to the Overthrow of our Laws and Violating of our Liberties: Things, I say, great in Shew, but no such 'Things to be found in the Matter spoke against. 'It is easy to make of a Mole-Hill a Mountain in 'Words, so by a well compiled Speech to make a 'great and dangerous Thing of nothing; nay, a 'Thing indeed needless; for that the State hath 'hitherto always stood upon this Government. 'And so he shewed how Ecclesiastical Government 'was distinct from Temporal. The Reasons he 'gave were few or none; only his great Dislike 'was, that having received strait Commandment 'from her Majesty, not to meddle with Things 'concerning the Reformation of the Church and 'State of this Realm, therefore in his Opinion 'the Bill ought to be suppressed.'

Sir *John Wooley* spake also against the Bill, 'Disallowing the Matters in it: And taking it as 'too busy a Medling in such a Thing so forbidden 'by her Majesty, so he thought it not fit that it 'should be read.'

Sir *Francis Knowles* answer'd, 'That whereas it 'was condemned as seeking the Overthrow of a 'Member of the State, and so against the Law; 'it tended, in his Opinion, but, to the Reforming 'of Abuses, and so Restraining of the Prelates, that 'if they meddle against the Laws, they shall incur a *Præmunire*. So that he thought the Bill to 'be good and fit to be read.'

Dr. *Lewen* answer'd Mr. *Morrice*. He endeavour'd to shew, 'That as the natural Body was delighted

(*a*) Author of *The Country Justice*: A Book of known Character in the Law.

'delighted in Change, ſo was it alſo in the politic Body, greedy of Alteration. That this Everſion of Biſhops had long been ſought for; and in ſhooting at their Juriſdiction, their Aim was at their Places; as being no more able to ſtand the one without the other, than a Houſe without a Foundation. Then he entred into a Diſcourſe of Government, as Monarchies, Ariſtocracies and Democracies. He approv'd the Monarchies; and, in the Moſt famous Monarchies in the World, ſhewed this Government now exerciſed by the Biſhops to have been uſed. He endeavoured to prove the Biſhops to be ſuch a Part of the Body Politic, as without them it could be no Body. And in comparing it with the State of the natural Body, he termed the Prince and the Counſellors of the Sate to be as the Senſes, and as the Head; the Biſhops and Miniſters as the Shoulders and Arms; the common People the Legs. Now to take away the Shoulders from the Body, were as great a Blemiſh and Prejudice as to have the Fingers tied unto the Shoulders. Then came he to three Parts of Mr. *Morrice's* Speech, *Inquiſition*, *Subſcription*, and *binding Abſolution*. *Inquiſition* he proved lawful; Firſt, Becauſe it had been ſo long uſed, and in the greateſt Monarchies allowed. For before Inquiſition came in, the Manner of Tryal was by Accuſation, and then the Party accuſing was to ſuffer the Penalty that the Law inflicted upon the Party accuſed, if he failed in his Accuſation. Then it might be that the Party accuſed, if the Accuſer failed in his Accuſation, might ſollicit two Witneſſes to anſwer for him, which was ſufficient to acquit him: So the guilty eſcaped, and the guiltleſs Accuſer was puniſhed. This ſeeming grievous, they changed their Tryals into Inquiſitions. And whoſoever reads *Demoſthenes* and *Tully*, ſhall ſee how unwillingly they were hired to accuſe. And if we look into the Laws of this Realm, it is altogether by Inquiſitions in Courts Baron, Leets, and in the King's Courts, and

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

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and in the Star Chamber. So that this Courſe is as lawful in the Eccleſiaſtical as in the Temporal Law. *Subſcription* was a Thing we were bound unto by Statute. The like was uſed in our Churches as at *Geneva*, ſo as allowable here. *Abſolution*, termed *Binding*, is no other than in the Common Law; for in the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, the Party abſolved is to be ſworn *ad ſervandum Jus*, and his Oath to perform the Law in this Abſolution is not grievous: Whereas otherwiſe the Party accuſed was to find Pledges for the ſame. Nay, it is a Liberty to him, when upon his Oath he may be freed. And ſo as to the Bill, he thought it fitteſt that it ſhould be firſt conſidered of by the Biſhops and Judges of the Realm before it were read.'

Mr. *Henry Finch* ſpoke to the ſame Purpoſe. And then Mr. *Oliver St John* ſpoke for the Bill. 'It hath been the Manner of this Houſe to allow a Mixture in ſpeaking, and after the Grave, Honourable and Wiſeſt, then to hear the Meaneſt alſo. For myſelf, I am but young, yet will I ſhew unto you Matter which is old. In Anſwer to them that ſpake laſt, the antient Charter of this Realm ſays, *Nullus liber Homo*, &c. which is flatly violated by Biſhops Juriſdiction. You know what Things *Thomas Becket* ſtood upon againſt the King, which Things are now alſo crept in. And for more full Anſwer of one that ſpake before, his Antiquity and Preſcription cannot be allowed in this Government for any Reaſon; for ſo were the Official Proſtitutes to take and exact Fees, becauſe Time out of Mind they had done ſo; and ſet it down that it was anſwered in the Parliament Houſe, That Thieves may preſcribe to take Purſes on *Shooters-Hill*, becauſe Time out of Mind they had done ſo.

'For that of *Inquiſition*, it ſeems to him (ſpecially) that ſpake laſt, to be allowed before that Tryal by Accuſation; Firſt, By reaſon of the Antiquity of the Tryal. But it cannot be proved

ſo

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'so ancient as the Manner of Tryals by Accusations. For in *John*, the adulterous Woman being brought to *Christ*, he asked who were her 'Accusers? And for that Manner of Accusation, 'the Lawyers themselves speak against it; for one 'saith of it, *Ut libere fatear quod sentiam, nunquam mihi placebat.* For *Subscription*, the Statute 'alledged is meant but a Subscription to certain 'Articles in Religion, and not a Subscription in 'this Form. And because it is allowed in *Geneva*, 'so to allow it here, that is no Reason. For in '*Geneva* there be many Things allowed, which 'the Party speaking would, I dare say, be loth to 'have used here. As to *Absolution*, there is no 'such Oath to be required therein in our Writ *de* '*Excommunicato capiendo*, as was said. So I think 'the Bill very worthy and fit to be read.'

Sir *Robert Cecil* answer'd, 'I am unwilling to 'speak, yea, I speak against my Will; and to an'swer Speeches well studied and premeditated upon 'the sudden, it is hard for me. What the Bill 'containeth, I am ignorant of; and whether to 'allow of it or not, I will suspend my Opinion. 'To say the Truth, the Man that offered it was 'learned and wise, and one whom I love; yet a 'Bill to be offered and inforced in this Sort, being 'of such Effect, I know not how to allow of it. 'For her Majesty hath straitly forbidden to meddle 'in such Cases; yet not forgetting the Cause, she 'had, in her Excellent Wisdom, cared and intend'ed that a Redress should be had of Things that 'are amiss. To which End her Majesty, before 'the Parliament summoned, had directed her Let'ters to the Archbishops to certify her.

'Now her Highness's Care for our Good shall 'be prevented, by our hasty Speaking of these 'Things before our Time. Sure it is not fit, and 'her Majesty cannot but be offended at it. For 'the Bill, I protest, I know it not; but it seem'eth to contain Things needful. Wherefore it 'were fittest it should be commended to her Ma-

'jesty,

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'jesty, and so recommended unto us. And if I 'may do this Office and Service for the House, I 'will in all dutiful Love and Service do it. But 'if the other Course be taken, I fear the Things 'sought will be denied for the Violence used in it.'

Then Mr. Speaker said, 'In Favour and free 'Love, above my Merits or Desert, you have 'elected me, which should bind me to do all my 'best Service, and to be faithful toward you. This 'Bill delivered me is long, and containeth import- 'ant Matters of great Weight, and such Matters 'as cannot be expressed in few Words. It hath 'many Parts, and if you put me presently to open 'it, I cannot so readily understand it, and do it 'as I should; for indeed it is a Matter far above 'my ordinary Practice: And to deliver a Thing 'before I conceive it, I could not. Wherefore, if 'it would please you to give me leave to consider 'of it, I protest, I will be faithful, and keep it 'with all Secrecy.'

Which is laid aside, to avoid offending the Queen.

'Hereupon the House was in Question, whether it should be committed to the Speaker only, or to the Privy-Council and him: But it was holden to be against the Order of the House, that any Bill should be committed before it was read. Therefore, upon a Motion made by Mr. *Wroth*, it was agreed, that Mr. Speaker should have it.'

Debate on the Bill relating to Recusants.

The same Day, in a Debate on the Bill relating to Recusants, Mr. *Nathanael Bacon* said, 'The Children 'might not be committed to the Bishop of the 'Diocese, because their Chancellors are so much 'affected to the Canon Law, that some are in- 'fected with Popish Religion. Besides, the Office 'of Bishops is to preach; and this Duty in the 'one Calling should not be hindered by other 'Affairs committed to their Care. Wherefore 'fitter it is, that the Justices of Assize should 'have the Appointment of them.

Sir *Edward Stafford*. 'It may be the Party is 'Enemy to him to whom the Child is committed, 'therefore

'therefore the Commitment ought to be by two or three.' Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

Mr. *Wroth* said, 'The Law hath no Proviso for 'Leases, nor Remedy is appointed, as by the Distreſs or otherwiſe, how the Guardian is to come 'by the Money appointed to him for the Cuſtody 'of the Child of a Recuſant. And it were fit to 'make a Proviſo that no Party, being next Heir 'to the Child, ſhould be his Guardian. And the 'Recuſant not to forfeit Ten Pounds a Month 'for the Keeping of his Wife; otherwiſe for 'keeping of Servants Recuſants.' After all theſe Speeches, it was agreed to commit the Bill to all of the Privy Council and many other Members.

On the 28th of *February*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer reported from the Committee, that they had conſidered of the Supply, and had agreed that *two entire Subſidies, and four Fifteenths and Tenths*, ſhould be granted to her Majeſty, if the Houſe ſhould think fit. Upon which the Queſtion was put, and it was agreed by the whole Houſe that the ſaid Supply ſhould be granted. Then Mr. *Nathanael Bacon*, one of the Committee, informed the Houſe that it was alſo agreed by them, That the preſent Neceſſities of the State, moving them to grant the ſaid double Taxes, might be entered in the Bill.

Sir *Henry Knivett* ſpoke next, 'Allowing the 'Subſidies, but withal deſired theſe Things: Firſt 'That it might be lawful for every Subject to 'annoy the King of *Spain* that would, that weak 'Forces might not be ſpent againſt him, but a 'Royal Army. That we ſhould not wreſtle 'with him on our own Ground, but Abroad. 'Further, that all her Majeſty's Debtors might 'be called in, and her Majeſty to have Power to 'ſell all the Debtors Lands, of what Eſtate ſoever 'they were ſeized of. No Steward or Commiſſioner but to anſwer her Majeſty the Royal Fines Further Debate on the Supply.

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3. ‘ and Sums they received. All her Woods to be ‘ viewed, and the great Timber to be for Sale, ‘ the Copy-Wood to be sold to encrease the Revenues. Licences granted to any to have Benefit ‘ of penal Statutes, to be taken in and the whole ‘ Benefit of Inns and Alehouses to come to the ‘ Queen. By this new Statute against Recusants, ‘ their Children to be committed to Persons of ‘ found Religion. The whole Benefit of their ‘ Relief and Living to come to the Queen, deducting only Charges for Education of Children.

Serjeant *Harris* agreed on the Subsidy, ‘ Because ‘ Parliaments were seldom, whereas by the Statute ‘ of 4 *Edward* III. they may be called every Year. ‘ The Subsidies to be granted to maintain Wars; ‘ but whether it be War or no War; as yet we ‘ know not: And the Things which we take from ‘ the *Spaniard* is doubted by many not to be lawful ‘ Prize. Therefore desires in the Subsidies to have ‘ it set down, that those Subsidies be to maintain a ‘ War impulsive and defensive against the *Spaniard*.’

Sir *Walter Raleigh* seconded his Speech, agreeing in all Things with the Serjeant, and said, ‘ He ‘ knew many that held it not lawful in Conscience, as the Time is, to take from the *Spaniards*: And he knew, that if it might be lawful ‘ and open War, there would be more voluntary ‘ Hands to fight against the *Spaniard*, than the ‘ Queen should stand in Need of to send to Sea.

‘ After the former and other like Speeches, in which also some had moved, that to make the Wars against the King of *Spain* and his Subjects lawful and warrantable, it should be inserted into the Preamble of the said Bill [That so great and extraordinary Supply was at this Time given for the resisting of his Power and preventing of his Malice] it was ordered ‘ That a Committee, consisting of all the Serjeants at Law, and several other Members, be appointed to draw the Articles and Preamble of the said Bill accordingly; to the End the same being considered of afterwards by this House

House, may be delivered by Mr. Speaker to her Majesty's learned Counsel, for the framing and drawing of the said Bill.' Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

Notwithstanding all this, the House went on but slowly in the Matter; occasioned by an Affair of another Nature, which will appear in the Sequel.

March 1st, the House was informed that two Messengers from the Lords attended at the Door. After being let in, they acquainted the House 'That 'their Lordships had sent them, to put this House 'in Mind of what the Lord Keeper had intimated 'in his Speech, on the first Day of this Parliament, 'concerning the Necessities of the State and Pro-'vision of Money to be made against the great 'and imminent Danger this Realm was threatened 'with from its mighty Enemies. That their 'Lordships expected to have heard from the Com-'mons, about this Matter, before this Time; 'and therefore had omitted to do any Thing in it 'themselves. But now they desired this House 'would appoint a Committee, to confer with their 'Lordships about this Business, according to the 'antient and laudable Usage of both Houses.' On which Message a Committee was appointed accordingly, who were to confer with a certain Number of the Lords that Afternoon.

A Message from the Lords to hasten it.

A Conference appointed thereupon.

'The next Day Sir *Robert Cecill*, one of the Committees appointed by this House for Conference with the Committees of the Lords, shewed, 'That he and the Residue of the Committees of 'this House did Yesterday, in the Afternoon, repair 'unto the said Committees of the Lords at the 'Place appointed, where the Lord Treasurer of '*England*, in the Name of the Residue of the said 'Committees of the Lords, shewed unto the 'Committees of this House the great and pre-'sent Need of Provision of Treasure to be em-'ployed for the Defence of the Realm against 'the Invasion of the great and mighty Enemies 'unto this Realm and State; and shewing further, 'that the double *Subsidy* and *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*

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'laſtly granted unto her Majeſty, amounting but 'unto two hundred and fourſcore thouſand Pounds 'her Majeſty hath nevertheleſs, in theſe Defenſive, 'Wars, expended of her own Treaſure alone, 'ten hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds ſince the 'Time of the granting of the ſaid double *Subſidy* 'and of the ſaid *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. And that 'therefore their Lordſhips, weighing the great pre-'ſent Neceſſity of greater and more ſpeedy Supply 'of Treaſure to be had than two entire *Subſidies* 'and four *Fifteenths*, do negatively affirm, that 'their Lordſhips will not give, in any wiſe, their 'Aſſents to paſs any Act in their Houſe of leſs 'than three entire Subſidies, to be paid in the three 'next Years, at two Payments in every of the 'ſame Years; the firſt to begin ſoon after the next '*Eaſter*, and the ſecond ſoon after the next *Mi-'chaelmas*, and ſo yearly after *Eaſter* and *Michael-'mas* during the ſaid three Years. And that as to 'what Proportion of Benevolence, or unto how 'much their Lordſhips would give their Aſſents in 'that Behalf, they would not as then ſhew unto 'the ſaid Committees of this Houſe. But inſiſting 'for Conference again to be had, he further urged 'that this Houſe might be moved to yield a greater 'Supply. To which End he alledged, that the 'uſual late Subſidies were very ſmall, and were al-'ſo impoſed, for the moſt Part, upon the meaner 'Sort of her Majeſty's Subjects; declaring, that 'he knew one Shire of this Realm, wherein there 'were many Men of good Living and Counte-'nance, but none of them, in the ſaid laſt Subſidies, 'aſſeſſed at above fourſcore Pound Lands *per An-'num*. And that in the City of *London* alſo, 'where the greateſt Part of the Riches of the 'Realm are, there was no one aſſeſſed at above 'two hundred Pound Goods a Man, and that 'not yet paſt above four or five ſuch.' Which Speech, in Effect, being ended, 'He, in Con-'cluſion, referred the further Conſideration there-'of to the Gravity of the Houſe.'

Mr.

Mr. *Francis Bacon*, as ſoon as Sir *Robert Cecill* had made an End of the former Report of the Buſineſs, ſpoke next. 'He yielded to the Subſidy, but miſliked that this Houſe ſhould join 'with the Upper Houſe in the Granting of it. 'For the Cuſtom and Privilege of this Houſe hath 'always been, firſt to make Offer of the Subſidies 'from hence, then to the Upper Houſe; except it 'were that they preſent a Bill unto this Houſe 'with Deſire of our Aſſent thereto, and then to 'ſend it up again. And Reaſon it is, that we 'ſhould ſtand upon our Privilege, ſeeing the Burthen reſteth upon us, as the greateſt Number; 'nor is it Reaſon the Thanks ſhould be theirs. 'And in joining with them in this Motion, we 'ſhall derogate from ours; for the Thanks will be 'theirs, and the Blame ours, they being the firſt 'Movers. Queen Elizabeth 1592-3. Which being reported occaſions great Debate.

'Wherefore I wiſh, that, in this Action, we 'ſhould proceed, as heretofore we have done, apart 'by ourſelves, and not join with their Lordſhips. 'And to ſatisfy them, who expect an Anſwer from 'us To-morrow, ſome Anſwer ſhould be made in 'obſequious and dutiful Manner.'

Then out of his Boſom he drew an Anſwer, framed by himſelf, to this Effect; 'That they had 'conſidered of their Lordſhips Motion, and 'thought upon it as was fit; and, in all Willing-'neſs, would addreſs themſelves to do as ſo great a 'Cauſe deſerved. To join with them, he ſaid, 'he could not, but with Prejudice to the Privilege 'of the ſaid Houſe. Wherefore he deſired, as 'they were wont, ſo that now they might pro-'ceed herein by themſelves, apart from their Lord-'ſhips; and that they might do it without Diſ-'content. To this Purpoſe he cited a Precedent 'in *Henry* VIIIth's Time (*b*), where Cardinal *Wol-'ſey* came down into the Houſe of Commons, 'and informed them what Neceſſity there was of 'a Subſidy; and that thereupon the Houſe took it 'to Conſideration, apart by themſeves, and at 'large

(*b*) See the Proceedings hereupon, in Vol. III. p. 29, *et ſeq.*

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'large granted it. By which it ſhould ſeem that 'he did infer, that the Lords might indeed give 'Notice unto the ſaid Houſe of Commons, what 'Need or Danger there was, but ought not to 'preſcribe them what to give, as at the Meeting 'of the Committee the Lord Treaſurer had done.'

'Whereupon the Houſe order'd, that the former Committee ſhould meet again in the Afternoon. And being met accordingly, great Part thereof was ſpent in arguing what the Matter was which was referred unto them by the Houſe; whether a Subſidy ſhould be yielded, and that ſignified for an Anſwer from them to the Lords: Or whether the Committees were only to conſider of an Anſwer according to Mr. *Bacon's* Motion, 'That this Houſe would alone, by themſelves, conſider of the Subſidy, without joining.'

Theſe following ſpake for the Subſidy, eſpecially inforcing the Neceſſity of it.

Sir *William Moore* ſhewed, firſt, 'That her 'Majeſty had more Cauſe to have the Subſidy than 'had *H.* VIII. *E.* VI. or Queen *Mary*; for *Hen-* 'ry's Wars continued not, tho' they were violent for 'the Time. His Wars were impulſive, and not de- 'fenſive. He had the Suppreſſion of all the Ab- 'bies, a Matter of great Riches unto him. He 'had a Benevolence, and then a Subſidy, paid with- 'in three Months. *Edward* VI. had Chantries, and 'all the Church-Plate, for Relief, paid him. Queen '*Mary* had a Relief, paid her, which ſhe never re- 'paid. But her Majeſty that now is, hath been a 'continual Defence of her own Realm and her 'Neighbour's Kingdoms, *England*, *Ireland*, *France*, 'and the *Low Countries*; yet hath ſhe repaid the 'Loans, and had not ſuch Helps.

Sir *George Carey* ſaid, 'I ſpeak for the Subſidy, '(firſt anſwering one that had ſaid, "We muſt "regard them and their Eſtates for whom we are "here)' ſaying, he regarded and came for them as 'was meet; and they will more thank us for tak- 'ing ſomewhat from them, than if we ſhould a-

'bandon

bandon them and leave them and all that they have to the Spoil of the Enemy; which will be, if, with our Forces, we provide not to withstand them. For imminent Dangers hang over our Heads, and are intended to us this Summer. The *Spaniard* already hath sent seven thousand Pistoles of Gold in to *Scotland* to corrupt the Nobility; and, to the King, twenty thousand Crowns now lately were dispatch'd, out of *France*, into *Scotland*, for the Levying of three thousand, which the *Scottish* Lords have promised; and the King of *Spain* will levy thirty thousand more, and give them all Pay. Her Majesty is determined to send Sir *Francis Drake* to Sea, to encounter them with a great Navy. Wherefore this our Danger is to be prevented, and those her Majesty's infinite Charges by us to be supplied.' Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* spake for the Subsidy, not only (as he protested) to please the Queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his Deserts, but for the Necessity he both saw and knew. 'He very well discovered the great Strength of the King of *Spain*. And, to shew his Mightiness, he told how he possessed all the World. As also, that his Malice and Ill Purpose was evident to this Realm: He shewed how, on every Side, he had beleaguered us.

'In *Denmark*, the King being young, he had corrupted the Council and Nobility, so as he was very like to speed himself of Shipping from thence. In the Marine Towns of the *Low-Countries*, and in *Norway*, he laid in great Store of Shipping. In *France* he had the Parliament-Towns at his Command. In *Britany* he had all the best Havens. And in *Scotland* he had so corrupted the Nobility, that he had promised them Forces to re-establish *Papistry*. That they were ready to join with any foreign Forces that would make them Strong, to be by themselves, and to resist others. For, as he thought, there were not six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion.

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'In his own Country there is all poſſible Repairing, and he is coming with ſixty Gallies, beſides other Shipping, with Purpoſe to annoy us. We muſt then have no Ships (if he invade us) riding at Anchor; all will be little enough to withſtand him. At his Coming, he fully determined to get *Plymouth*, or at leaſt to poſſeſs ſome of the Havens, this Summer, within our Land. And *Plymouth* is a Place of moſt Danger, for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him; the Paſſages will not give Leave. Now the Way to defeat him is this: To ſend a Royal Army to ſupplant him in *Britany*, and to poſſeſs ourſelves there; and to ſend a ſtrong Navy to Sea, and to lie with it upon the *Cape* and ſuch Places as his Ships bring his Riches to, that they may ſet upon all that come. This we are able to do, and undoubtedly with fortunate Succeſs, if we undertake it.'

To make this Matter as ſhort as poſſible, and not omit any material Argument.—The Committee, for conſidering of an Anſwer to be given to the Lords, on their laſt Meſſage, came to this Reſolution, 'That it was the Opinion of the Majority to grant another Conference with the Lords, if the Houſe ſhould think fit.'

But Mr. *Wroth*, one of the ſaid Committee, ſtood up and ſaid, 'That he diſſented from the Queſtion, and neither gave his Aſſent in the Committee, nor would now do it, that any Conference ſhould be had with the Lords in this Caſe. For, that, in his Opinion, the ſame would be very prejudicial to the antient Liberties and Privileges of this Houſe, and to its Authority.'

Mr. *Beale*, another Member, ſeconded Mr. *Wroth*, 'He inſiſted upon their Maintenance of uſual and antient Liberties and Privileges of this Houſe in treating of Subſidies, Contributions, and other like Benevolences, among themſelves; without any Conference therein at all had or uſed with the Lords of the Higher Houſe: And gave

'an Instance of a former Precedent in the like Case; and offered to shew that the same Precedent to this House, was followed in the 9th of *Hen.* IV. The two Houses being divided about the Subsidy, and the Higher House desiring a greater Subsidy than was granted by the Lower House; hereupon twelve, that were sent as Committees to the Lords, came down, and informed what was desired by the Upper House; namely a greater Subsidy; and, to that End, Conference to be had with them of the House of Commons. The Commons thought themselves grieved therewith, and so returned their Answer, That they would consider what was meet to be done in so general a Matter, but thought the Conference a Derogation to the Privilege of the House. Hereupon the King answered, That he could not, neither was it fit, to violate the Privilege of his Commons, but in all Things he thought it just to prefer them.' Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

The Court-Party were very earnest for this Conference. Sir *Robert Cecil* spoke again. 'He put the House in Mind of the great and urgent Necessity, for the speedy Prevention and Avoiding of the great an imminent Perils and Dangers of this Realm and State, to be effected both by Consultation and also by Provision of Treasure; and thinketh good that Conference of this House were had with the Lords, as a Matter very behoofful: Especially for that their Lordships, some of them being of her Majesty's Privy-Council, do know both the Purposes and Strength of the Enemies on the one Side, and also her Majesty's present Store of Treasure, more or less, on the other Side, much better than those of this House do. Resolveth, for his own Opinion, still to give his Consent, That Conference be had therein with the Lords, by the Committees of this House; according to their Lordship's said former Motion and Request for the same.'

Sir *William Brunker* stood up, and, 'He reciting the said great present Necessity of Consultati-

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'on and Proviſion, and that it cannot be otherwiſe 'but that the Proportion of convenient Supply of 'Treaſure, anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Dan-'gers which are imminent, muſt needs require 'greater Maſs of Treaſure to be had, than hath 'been as yet treated of in any Reſolution by this 'Houſe.' Then the Speaker put the Queſtion, For a Conference or not? And, on a Diviſion of the Houſe, it was carried, in the *Negative*, 217 againſt 128.

After this, it was thought proper to appoint a Committee to wait upon the Lords, and acquaint them with their laſt Reſolution, in as ſoft Terms as poſſible. Who, returning, made Report, That their Lordſhips well hoped that this Houſe would have granted their Requeſt. However, they deſired the Commons to take due Care for a ſpeedy and a proper Supply, according to the preſſing Neceſſity of the State: And to ſee theſe Precedents on which the Conference was denied.

But this Matter was again reſumed the next Day, *March* 5th. at which Time the aforeſaid Mr. *Beale* ſtood up and deſired to ſatisfy the Houſe, 'By reaſon it was conceived by the Lords the 'other Day, that upon his Motion, and by his 'Precedent ſhewed, the Houſe was led to deny a 'Conference with the Lords, he acknowledged he 'had miſtaken the Queſtion propounded. For 'there being but a Conference deſired by the 'Lords, and no Confirming of any Thing they 'had done, he thought we might, and it was fit 'we ſhould conſer. And to this End only, he 'ſhewed the Precedent, That in the 9th Year of '*Henry* IV. the Commons having granted a Sub-'ſidy, which the Lords thought too little, and 'they agreed to a greater, and would have the 'Commons to confirm that which they had done; 'this the Commons thought they could not do 'without Prejudice to this Houſe. Wherefore he 'acknowledged himſelf miſtaken in the Queſtion, 'and deſired if any were led by him, to be ſatiſ-'fied, for that he would have been of another

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'Opinion if he had conceived the Matter as it was meant.' Queen Elizabeth 1592-3.

Sir *Thomas Heneage* 'propounded the Queſtion 'anew, and thought that with the Privilege of 'the Houſe, and by Precedents to be ſhewed, there 'had been Conference with the Lords uſed upon 'the like Motion.'

Sir *John Wolley* thought, 'That the former De-'nial grew upon miſtaking of the Queſtion, and 'upon better Conſideration would have the Mat-'ter reverſed, and now to aſſent to that which 'was denied before.'

Sir *Henry Knivett* moved, 'That for the Free-'dom of the Houſe, it might be concluded a-'mongſt them, a Matter anſwerable at the Bar, 'for any Man to report any Thing of any Speech 'uſed, or Matters done in this Houſe.'

Sir *Henry Upton* ſpake 'in Defence of the for-'mer Proceedings of the Houſe, and ſhewed how 'it had proceeded; firſt, agreeing to a double *Sub-'ſidy* and *four Fifteenths:* this being offered, and 'the Lords thinking it ſeemed little, and conſider-'ing the preſent Neceſſity, the Lack of Payment 'of Subſidies, and the true Rating of Subſidies 'over that they were wont to be, they deſired a 'Conference with the Lower Houſe, giving Rea-'ſons of great Importance for a greater Aid; and 'they gave us a Taſte of what was needful, as 'three *Subſidies* at the leaſt; and upon thoſe great 'Cauſes deſired a Conference the next Day. This 'being deliver'd unto the Houſe by one of the 'Committees ſent to the Lords, the Houſe upon 'Conſideration thought it not to ſtand with their 'Privilege to confer with their Lordſhips in Mat-'ter of Subſidies, becauſe it was the Liberty of 'the Houſe to make Offer themſelves to her Ma-'jeſty. And in regard it ſtood not with the Pri-'vilege of this Houſe to confer with the Lords, 'hereupon they adviſe upon an Anſwer to be 'made unto the Lords, wherein they ſhould give 'them Thanks that they had vouchſafed to con-

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'fer with them of this Houſe; but ſhewed, that 'with the Privilege of the Houſe they could not 'have Conference with them in Matter of *Sub-* '*ſidy*.

'Further, he thought the Houſe much injured, 'that they ſhould be reported to be againſt the '*Subſidy*; and the Parties injured, who ſpeaking 'tho laſt Day againſt the *Subſidy*, their Names 'were given up, and were noted for it to the 'Queen.

'And now my Motion is, that we muſt con-'fer with the Lords upon the *Subſidy*, but not in 'any ſort to be conformed therein unto them. 'And for that Occaſion paſt, he deſired that Mr. 'Speaker might be ſent and report the Truth of 'the whole Matter and Manner of our Proceed-'ings.'

Sir *Robert Cecill* ſpake next and ſaid, 'I de-'ſire now I may be ſomewhat long, becauſe I 'muſt include an Anſwer to three Speeches. 'Thoſe two honourable Perſons that ſit above, 'the one of them declared the true State of the 'Queſtion, the other what was fit we ſhould do. 'But my Anſwer ſhall tend only to thoſe Tales 'that followed. The firſt was a kind of Satisfac-'tion for a former Miſtaking; but in the ſame Sa-'tisfaction, a new Miſtaking was alſo; which was 'by way of Information, caſting it into the Houſe; 'that the Queen ſhould ſeem to demand three '*Subſidies*. Now the Queen never demanded 'three, nor one. So there is a new Miſtaking 'added to the former Satisfaction.

'The ſecond Man's Motion thus far I allow, 'That the Counſel of this Houſe be ſecretly kept, 'and that nothing be reported *in malam partem*: 'But if his Meaning be, that we may not im-'part any Thing that is done here unto the Queen, 'but that all Things muſt be ſecret from her, I 'am altogether againſt it. This only I ſhould de-'ſire, what ought to be obſerved, That nothing 'ought to be reported unto her *in malam partem*.

'The third Man's Motion consisted of three Points. The first was News, the second was History, and the third and last a Motion. His News was, that Men's Names were given up to the Queen. This was News. For I heard it not before. The History was a large Report of the Progress of this Matter. His Motion was, that we should confer with the Lords about a *Subsidy*, but not conclude a *Subsidy* with them. His Manner seems contrary to his Meaning, or else is more than ever was meant; for it was never desired of us by the Lords, that we should confer with them about a *Subsidy*.' Queen Elizabeth 1593-3.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* spake next and moved, 'That seeing the Division of the House the last Day grew, as he conceived, upon the Mistaking of the Question; and that since some had reported unto him, that had the Question been propounded, Whether they should only yield to a Conference in general with the Lords, they would not have been against it; therefore he desired Mr. Speaker to put it to the Question, Whether they should confer with the Lords generally or not, without naming a Subsidy?' This Motion being well liked, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was desired by the House, to repeat it again, that so it might be the better heard of them all. And thereupon he said, 'That touching the aforesaid Question which had received a *No* upon *Saturday* last foregoing, he would not make it a Question again, for by the Order of the House he could not; but propounded this for a new Question in these or the like Words, Whether the House would be pleased to have general Conference with the Lords, touching the great and imminent Dangers of the Realm and State, and the present necessary Supply of Treasure to be provided speedily for the same, according to the Proportion of the Necessity?' Which said Question being propounded unto the House, it was assented unto

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3. accordingly by them all without any negative Voice.

Whereupon the former Committee, appointed for Conference with the Lords, were presently sent up to acquaint their Lordships of this last Resolution. Who appointed the next Day, in the Afternoon, for the Conference. On that Day, before the Meeting, the Commons went upon this Affair again; and after many more Speeches and Altercations, a subsequent Resolution was agreed to by the whole House; That their Committee should have Authority to confer with that of the Lords, in a general Way concerning Dangers and Remedies to be provided against: But not in any Way to conclude or resolve on any thing in the said Conference, particularly; without the farther Privity and Assent of the whole House, on the Report to be made to them of their Proceedings. One of the Speeches, made on the Occasion of this Resolution, is too remarkable to be omitted.

Mr. *Fulk Grevile* said, 'There are two Scruples 'in this House, which I would gladly satisfy; the 'one the Privilege of the House, the other the Po- 'verty of the People. For Precedents they are 'but Examples of Things past. Now every Ex- 'ample ought to be stronger than the Thing we 'fear: For if the Thing be otherwise, and our 'Necessity greater, the former Doings are no 'Rules to us. And so Precedents as they are not 'to be rejected, so they ought not to be eternal. 'For the Poverty of our Country, we have no 'Reason to think it poor; our Sumptuousness in 'Apparel, in Plate, and in all Things, argueth our 'Riches. And our Dearth of every Thing 'amongst us sheweth Plenty of Money. But, it 'is said, our Countries are poor, and we must re- 'spect them that sent us hither. Why, so we must 'also remember who call'd us hither. This Cause 'is hard; for there is Necessity against Necessity, 'Danger against Danger, and inward Discontent 'against outward Forces. The Poor are grieved

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'by being over-charged; this must be helped by in- Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.
'creasing our own Burthen; for otherwise the
'weak Feet will complain of too heavy a Body;
'that is to be feared. If the Feet knew their
'Strength as well as we know their Oppression,
'they would not bear as they do. But to answer
'them, it sufficeth that the Time requireth it:
'And in a Prince Power will command. To sa-
'tisfy them, they cannot think we overcharge them,
'when we charge ourselves with them and above
'them: But if nothing will satisfy them, our Do-
'ings are sufficient to bind them. If the Multitudes
'of Parliaments be remembred heretofore, many
'Subsidies now in one Parliament cannot seem
'burthensome. The more Laws we make, the
'less Liberty we have to ourselves. And now
'one Word for myself, if my Speech hath offend-
'ed, excuse me, I will not often trouble you here-
'after.'

It was not till the 22d Day of *March*, that the Commons brought the Matter to a Conclusion; and then the Bill for a Grant of *three entire Subsidies* and *six Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, was read a third Time and passed upon the Question.

The Subsidy-Bill pass'd, with a remarkable Preamble.

But yet the House thought fit not to let this Bill go without a Preamble to it, remarkable enough to deserve our Notice; this our Historian hath given us, which we shall insert in his own Words (*c*).

'When they had closely debated and weigh-
'ed how earnestly the Enemies of our Constituti-
'on were bent upon the Ruin of *England*; having
'already subdued our confederate Forces in *France*,
'*Scotland*, and *Holland*, and seized all the Places that
'lay convenient for annoying of *England*; they
'thought necessary to provide proper Supplies to di-
'vert the impending Danger. Then, after bestow-
'ing large *Encomiums* on the prudent and wise Con-
'duct of a Maiden-Queen, tempered with that af-
'fectionate Care and Regard for her Subjects; who
'had disbursed so vast a Supply from her own Trea-
'sury

(*c*) *Camden in Kennet*, p. 570. —— *Stow's Chron.* p. 765

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

ſury to carry on a War, with good and happy Succeſs, againſt an opulent and potent Enemy, as none of her Predeceſſors had ever done before. And all this without any burdenſome Grants from her People, tho' ſhe had Occaſion not only to act on the defenſive, but to aſſiſt and ſupport her Allies. On this Account, they freely and cheerfully gave the large Supply aforementioned; but they humbly requeſted withal, That foraſmuch as thoſe Acts were to be kept upon Record, a *Caveat* might be entered in expreſs Terms, *That thoſe large and unuſual Grants, which were made to a moſt excellent Princeſs, on a moſt preſſing and extraordinary Occaſion, might not at any Time hereafter be drawn into a Precedent.*'

But, it was not meerly the unuſual Largeneſs of this Supply that retarded its Progreſs through the Commons: They were diſguſted at the Court for Impriſoning four of their Members at the Beginning of this Seſſion. There was alſo another Accident which increaſed their Diſcontent; and which together, made the Houſe more backward in obliging, till theſe and other Grievances were redreſſed. We took Notice before, That ſo early in the Seſſion as the 27th of *February*, the Day after the Supply was moved for, Mr. *Morrice*, Attorney of the Court of Wards, a Place under the Crown, ſtood up and moved the Houſe touching the Abuſes of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and that the Bill was after Debate deliver'd to the Speaker's Care, to prevent giving Offence to the Queen: But the Matter did not reſt here.——For,

A Meſſage from the Queen by the Speaker, forbidding the Commons to meddle with the State or the Church.

In the Afternoon of the ſame Day the Speaker was ſent for to Court; and, on the next, he ſtood up and ſaid, he had a Meſſage to deliver from her Majeſty to the Houſe; which he gave in theſe Words:

'YEſterday a great Member of this Houſe, after a Speech uſed, and his Reaſons laid 'forth, delivered two Bills unto me; which Bills, 'though

'though not being read, yet were diverſely ſpoken 'of. They being long, and the Matters grave and 'of great Importance, and the Day being almoſt 'ſpent, I deſired further Time to conſider of theſe 'Bills. I humbly thank this honourable Houſe, 'Time was granted me freely, it being almoſt 'Twelve of the Clock. Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'I have peruſed and read both of the Bills; I 'have them about me, and they have been conti-'nually with me ever ſince they were delivered to 'me; never any Man ſaw them, nor ever any 'Man's Eye more than my own ever ſaw one 'Word of them.

'A little after I had peruſed the Bills, I was ſent 'for by a Special Meſſenger from her Majeſty: 'Coming in her Royal Preſence, I was command-'ed to deliver theſe Words from her moſt ex-'cellent Majeſty unto the Body of the Realm (for 'ſo ſhe termed this Houſe:) The Matter I have 'to ſpeak is great, yea it is the greateſt Matter I 'ever had to deal in; wherefore I pray God direct '*Mentem et Linguam hanc.* I muſt be ſhort, for 'her Majeſty's Words were not many; and I may 'perhaps fail in the Delivery of them: For tho' 'my Auditors be great, yet who is ſo impudent 'that the Preſence of ſuch a Majeſty would not 'appall him? And it did greatly fear me, when I 'did ſee none of theſe honourable Perſons, in her 'Preſence, who were preſent at the Holding of the 'Matter in this Houſe; yet ſo God in his Provi-'dence had appointed it, that even in this while 'came in ſome of the Perſons here preſent, who, 'if I fail in delivering what was given me in 'Charge, can report it unto you: And I am glad 'that there are Witneſſes with me in this Action, 'what was my faithful Service for the Houſe.

'I proteſt a greater Comfort never befel me, 'than that this my Integrity and faithful Promiſe 'to this Houſe, is not violated; for her Majeſty, 'in her moſt gracious Wiſdom, before my Coming, 'determined not to preſs me in this, neither in-'deed did ſhe require the Bill of me; for this

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Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'only she required of me, *What were the Things* '*spoken of by the House?* which Points I only de-'livered, as they that heard me can tell.

'The Message delivered me from her Majesty, 'consisteth of three Things; First, the End for 'which the Parliament was called. Secondly, 'The Speech which her Majesty used by my Lord 'Keeper. Thirdly, What her Pleasure and Com-'mandment now is.

'For the First, *It is in me and my Power* (I 'speak now in her Majesty's Person) *to call Par-'liaments*; *and it is in my Power to end and deter-'mine the same*; *it is in my Power to assent or dis-'sent to any thing done in Parliament.*

'The Calling of this Parliament was only that 'the Majesty of God might be more religiously 'served; and those that neglect this Service might 'be compelled by some sharper Means to a more 'due Obedience, and more true Service of God, 'than there hath been hitherto used. And further, 'that the Safety of her Majesty's Person, and of 'the Realm, might be by all Means provided for 'against our great Enemies the *Pope* and the King 'of *Spain.*

'Her Majesty's most excellent Pleasure being 'then delivered unto us by the Lord-Keeper, it 'was not meant we should meddle with Matters 'of State, or in Causes Ecclesiastical; (for so 'her Majesty termed them.) She wondered *that* '*any would be of so high Commandment to attempt* '(I use her own Words) *a Thing contrary to that* '*which she hath so expressly forbidden*; wherefore, 'with this she was highly displeased. And because 'the Words, then spoken by my Lord Keeper, are 'not now perhaps well remembred, or some be 'now here, that were not there; her Majesty's 'present Charge and express Command is, *That* '*no Bills touching Matters of State, or Reforma-'tion in Causes Ecclesiastical, be exhibited.* And, 'upon my Allegiance, I am commanded, if any 'such Bill be exhibited, not to read it.'

Thus

Thus the Bill was quashed, and Mr. *Morrice*, the first Mover of it, being also sent for to Court, the same Day he was committed to the Custody of Sir *John Fortescue*, Chancellor of the Exchequer (*d*). Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

A Member taken into Custody for preferring a Bill against the Ecclesiastical Courts.

We purposely omit all the Debates in this House about some less material Matters; such as Regulating Elections, Privilege from Arrests; with those on some Bills of less public Concern; but which are well worth the Observation of a more particular Enquirer. Not long after the Subsidy-Bill had passed both Houses, that is on the 10th Day of *April*, the Queen came to the House of Lords; and the Commons being called up, the Speaker, on delivering the Bills, made the following most elaborate Speech on the Dignity and Antiquity of Parliaments.

The Speaker's Speech to the Queen at the Close of the Session.

'THE High Court of Parliament, most 'High and Mighty Prince, is the greatest 'and most antient Court within this your Realm. 'For before the Conquest in the High Places of 'the *West-Saxons*, we read of a Parliament holden; 'and since the Conquest they have been holden by 'all your noble Predecessors Kings of *England*.

'In the Time of the *West-Saxons* a Parliament 'was holden by the noble King *Ina*, by these 'Words: *I* Ina, *King of the* West-Saxons, *have* 'caused all *my* Fatherhood, Aldermen *and* wisest 'Commons, *with the Godly Men of my Kingdom*, 'to consult of weighty *Matters*, &c. Which Words 'do plainly shew all the Parts of this High Court 'still observed to this Day. For by King *Ina* is 'your Majesty's most Royal Person represented. 'The *Fatherhood*, in antient Time, were these which 'we call Bishops, and still we call them Reverend 'Fathers, an antient and chief Part of our State.

'By *Aldermen* were meant your Noblemen. 'For so honourable was the Word *Aldermen* in 'antient Time, that the Nobility only were called '*Aldermen*.

'By

(*d*) Townshend's *Collect.* p. 61. See also before p. 373.

Queen Elizabeth. 1593.

'By *Wiſeſt Commons* is meant and ſignified 'Knights and Burgeſſes, and ſo is your Majeſty's 'Writ *de diſcretioribus & magis ſufficientibus.*

'By *Godlieſt Men* is meant your Convocation-'Houſe. It conſiſteth of ſuch as are devoted to 'Religion. And as Godlieſt Men do conſult of 'weightieſt Matters, ſo is your Highneſs's Writ 'at this Day *pro quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus* 'Negotiis, Nos, Statum & Defenſionem Regni noſtri '& Eccleſiæ tangentibus.

'Your Highneſs's Wiſdom and exceeding Judg-'ment with all-careful Providence needed not our 'Counſels: But yet ſo urgent Cauſes there were 'of this Parliament, ſo important Conſiderations, 'as that we may ſay (for that we cannot judge) 'never Parliament was ſo needful as now, nor 'any ſo honourable as this.

'If I may be bold to ſay it, I muſt preſume to 'ſay that which hath been often ſaid, (but what is 'well ſaid, cannot be too often ſpoken) this ſweet 'Council of ours I would compare to that ſweet 'Commonwealth of the little Bees.

Sic enim parvis componere magna ſolebam.

'The little Bees have but one Governor whom 'they all ſerve, he is their King, *quia Latera habet* '*latiora*; he is placed in the Midſt of their Habi-'tations, *ut in tutiſſima Turri.* They forage abroad, 'ſucking Honey from every Flower to bring to 'their King. *Ignavum Fucos Pecus à Præſepibus* 'arcent, The Drones they drive away out of their 'Hives, *non habentes Aculeos.* And whoſo aſſails 'their King, in him *immittunt Aculeos, & tamen* 'Rex ipſe eſt ſine Aculeo.

'Your Majeſty is that Princely Governor and 'Noble Queen, whom we all ſerve; being pro-'tected under the Shadow of your Wings we live, 'and wiſh you may ever ſit upon your Throne 'over us. And whoſoever ſhall not ſay *Amen*, 'for them we pray *ut convertantur ne pereant, &* 'ut confundantur ne noceant. Under your happy 'Government we live upon Honey, we ſuck upon

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Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'every sweet Flower: But where the Bee sucketh 'Honey, there also the Spider draweth Poison. 'Some such Venoms there be. But such Drones 'and Door Bees we will expel the Hive and serve 'your Majesty, and withstand any Enemy that 'shall assault you. Our Lands, our Goods, our 'Lives are prostrate at your Feet to be command-'ed. Yea, and (thanked be God, and Honour 'be to your Majesty for it) such is the Power and 'Force of your Subjects, that of their own Strength 'they are able to encounter your greatest Enemies. 'And though we be such, yet have we a Prince 'that is *sine Aculeo*; so full of that Clemency is 'your Majesty. I fear I have been too long, and 'therefore to come now to your Laws:

'The Laws we have conferred upon this Ses-'sion of so honourable a Parliament are of two 'Natures; the one such as have Life but are ready 'to die, except your Majesty breathe Life into 'them again; the other are Laws that never had 'Life, but being void of Life, do come to your 'Majesty to seek Life.

'The first Sort are those Laws that had Conti-'nuances until this Parliament, and are now to 'receive new Life or are to die for ever. The 'other, that I term capable of Life, are those which 'are newly made, but have no Essence until your 'Majesty giveth them Life.

'Two Laws there are, but I must give the 'Honour where it is due; for they come from the 'Noble wise Lords of the Upper House; the 'most honourable and beneficial Laws that could 'be desired: The one a Confirmation of all Let-'ters Patents, from your Majesty's most Noble 'Father, of all Ecclesiastical Livings, which the 'King of most renowned Memory, your Father, 'took from those superstitious Monasteries and 'Priories, and translated them to the erecting and 'setting up of many Foundations of Cathedral 'Churches and Colleges, greatly furthering the 'Maintenance of Learning and true Religion.

'The

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

'The other Law to suppress the obstinate Recusant and the dangerous Sectary, both very pernicious to your Government.

'Lastly, Your loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons of the Lower House, humbly and with all dutiful Thanks, stand bound unto your gracious Goodness for your general and large Pardon granted unto them, wherein many great Offences are pardoned.

'But it extendeth only to Offences done before the Parliament.

'I have many Ways, since the Beginning of this Parliament, by Ignorance and Insufficiency to perform that which I should have done, offended your Majesty; I therefore most humbly crave to be Partaker of your Majesty's most Gracious Pardon.'

The Lord Keeper's Answer.

The Lord Keeper, having receiv'd Instructions from the Queen, answer'd the Speaker to the following Effect:

'That her Majesty did most graciously accept of these Services and Devotions of this Parliament; commending them that they had employed the Time so well and spent it in so necessary Affairs, save only that in some Things they had spent more Time than needed. But she perceived that some Men did it more for their Satisfaction than the Necessity of the Thing deserved. She misliked also that such Irreverence was shewed towards Privy Counsellors, who were not to be accounted as common Knights and Burgesses of the House, that are Counsellors only during the Parliament; whereas the other are standing Counsellors, and for their Wisdom and great Service are called to the Council of the State.

'That the Queen's Majesty had heard that some Men in the Cause of great Necessity, and Grant of Aid, had seemed to regard their Country, and made their Necessity more than it was; forget-

'ing

'ting the urgent Neceſſity of the Time, and Dan- Queen Elizabeth.
'gers that were now imminent. 1593.

'That her Majeſty would not have the People 'feared with a Report of great Dangers, but ra- 'ther to be encouraged with Boldneſs againſt the 'Enemies of the State. And that therefore ſhe 'ſtraitly charged and commanded that the muſter'd 'Companies in every Shire ſhould be ſupplied, if 'they were decayed: And that their Proviſions of 'Armour and Munition ſhould be better than 'heretofore it hath been uſed.

'That for this Offer of three Subſidies, her 'Majeſty moſt graciouſly, in all Kindneſs, thank- 'eth her Subjects: But except it were freely and 'willingly given, ſhe did not except of it; for her 'Majeſty never accepteth any Thing that is not 'freely given.

'That if the Coffers of her Majeſty's Treaſures 'were not empty, or if the Revenues of the 'Crown and other Princely Ornaments could 'ſuffice to ſupply her Wants and the Charges of 'the Realm, on the Word of a Prince ſhe doth 'pronounce it, ſhe would not have charged her 'Subjects, nor have accepted of this they give 'her.'

Then, after ſome little Intermiſſion, the Queen, being ſet in her Chair of State, ſpoke as follows:

THIS Kingdom hath had many Wiſe, Noble and Victorious Princes, I will not compare with any of them in Wiſdom, Fortitude and other Virtues; but ſaving the Duty of a Child, that is not to compare with his Father, in Love, Care, Sincerity and Juſtice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or ſhall have. It may be thought Simplicity in me, that all this Time of my Reign I have not ſought to advance my Territories, and enlarge my Dominions; for Opportunity hath ſerved me to do it. I acknowledge my Womanhood and Weakneſs in that Reſpect. But it hath not been the Hardneſs to obtain, or Doubt how to keep the Things ſo obtained, that only hath witheld me from theſe Attempts: The Queen's Speech at the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Queen Elizabeth. 1593. *My Mind was never to invade my Neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just Prince. Yet the King of* Spain *doth challenge me to be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all these Wars. He doth me the greatest Wrong that can be; for my Conscience doth not accuse my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the least Injury; so that I am persuaded in my Conscience, if he knew what I know, he would be sorry himself for the Wrong he hath done me. I fear not all his Threatnings, his great Preparations and mighty Forces do not stir me: For tho' he come against me with a greater Power than ever was his Invincible Navy, I doubt not but (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat him and overthrow him; for my Cause is just. I heard say, when he first attempted his last Invasion, some upon the Sea-Coasts forsook their Towns and fled up higher into the Country, and left all naked and exposed to his Entrance: But I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those Persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a Cause.*

The Subsidy you give me I accept thankfully, if you give me your Good-Will with it; but if the Necessity of the Time and your Preservations did not require it, I would refuse it. But let me tell you, the Sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a Prince to have so much always laying in her Coffers for your Defence in Time of Need, and not be driven to get it when she should use it.

You that are Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your Countries, I require you to take Care and special Order, that the People be well armed, and in Readiness upon all Occasions.

You that be Judges and Justices of Peace, I command and straitly charge you, that you see the Laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living Laws when we have put Life into them.

After this Speech ended, and the Bills passed, the Lord-Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, dissolv'd this Parliament.

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The War with *Spain* continuing for some Years longer, that Monarch had done his utmost to bring about another Invasion of *England*; and in the Year 1597, he sought to dissolve the Union and good Agreement which were between the *French* and *English* Courts, that by those Means he might gain the Advantage of an easier Descent upon *England* from *Calais*. It is certain that the Happiness of our Situation is, and ever was, our greatest Security, against any foreign Enemy whatsoever, except *Scotland*. Which made this potent Monarch, tho' then possessed of the Wealth of both the *Indies*, fail in every Attempt against it. *Calais* was then, also, in the *Spaniard's* Possession; so that could he have had Leave to march an Army thro' *France*, *England* might have suffered much from so troublesome a Neighbour. Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

To prevent this, *Elizabeth* used all her Policy to keep the *French* King firm to her Interest; she not only sent him some Troops, but also a great Sum of Money; for which he frankly offered the Town of *Calais* as a Security; provided the Queen would recover it out of the Enemies Hands at her own Expence, and with her own proper Forces. But, this not answering, the King of *Spain*, being now grown very old, accepted of a Mediation from the *Pope*, to bring about a Peace with *France*; which was concluded, and *England* left in the Lurch to provide for its own Security. A Parliament call'd on account of a Peace between France and Spain.

The Queen, rightly apprehending that this Peace might turn to the Disadvantage of *England*, resolved, says her Historian, to provide against the worst Effects, by furnishing her Exchequer with Money, and securing the Love and Affection of her People. For both which Purposes, a Parliament was called to meet, at *Westminster*, on the 24th Day of *October*, in the 39th Year of this Reign. Anno Regni 39. 1597.

On the first Day of the Meeting of this Parliament, the Queen being present, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, then Sir *Thomas Egerton*, by her At Westminster.

Queen Elizabeth. 1597. Majesty's Command, declared the Cause of the Summons, in these Words (*e*):

The Lord Keeper's Speech at the opening thereof.

'THE Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, my most Gracious and Dread Sovereign, 'hath commanded me to declare unto you, 'My Lords and others here present, the Causes 'which have moved her Highness to summon this 'Parliament at this Time; which before I can ex-'press, I must confess truly, that the Royal Presence 'of her Majesty, the View of your Lordships and 'this honourable Assembly, together with the Con-'sideration of the Weightiness of the Service, and of 'my own Weakness, doth much appale me, and 'cause me to fear.

'Wherefore, if, either through Fear I forget, or 'through my many Wants and Imperfections 'I fail, to perform that Duty which is required; I 'do most humbly crave Pardon of her Majesty, 'and beseech your Lordships to bear with me.

'The great princely Care which her Highness 'now hath, as heretofore she hath ever had, to pre-'serve her Kingdoms in Peace, and safe from all 'foreign Attempts, hath caused her, at this present, 'to assemble this honourable and great Council of 'her Realm, to advise of the best and most need-'ful Means whereby to continue this her peaceable 'and happy Government, and to withstand the 'Malice of her mighty and implacable Enemy; 'which hitherto, by the Space of many Years, 'through her provident and princely Wisdom, hath 'been perform'd, to the great and inestimable Be-'nefit of her Subjects, as that the simplest of them 'could not but see, and the wisest but admire their 'Happiness therein; the whole Realm enjoying 'Peace in all Security, while our Neighbour-Coun-'tries have been torn in Pieces, and tormented 'with cruel and bloody Wars.

'This her Majesty is pleased to ascribe to the 'great Power and infinite Mercy of the Al-'mighty;

(*e*) *Townshend's* Collections, p. 791

'mighty: And therefore it shall well become us all, most thankfully, upon the Knees of our Hearts, to acknowledge no less unto his Holy Name; who of his infinite Goodness, still preserve her Highness, and send her many Years more over us, in all Happiness, to reign. Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

'In this her blessed Government, her Highness's chief Care and Regard of all, hath been of the Honour and Service of Almighty God, that true Religion might be planted and entertained in the Hearts of the People, through all the Parts of her Realm; and as well in that Behalf, as for the Peace and Benefit of her Subjects, she hath, from Time to Time, established many good Laws to meet with the Disorders, and to punish the Offences of wicked and ungodly Men; that continuing in their bad Ways, they may not be hardened and go forward in their Wickedness: For *Mora in Peccato dat Incrementum Sceleri.*

'And whereas the Number of the Laws already made are very great, some also of them being obsolete and worn out of Use; others idle and vain, serving to no Purpose: some again over heavy and too severe for the Offence; others too loose and slack for the Faults they are to punish; and many of them so full of Difficulties to be understood, that they cause many Controversies: You are therfore to enter into a due Consideration of the said Laws; and where you find Superfluity, to prune and cut off: where Defect, to supply; and where Ambiguity, to explain; that they be not burthensome, but profitable to the Commonwealth: Which being a Service of Importance, and very needful to be required, yet is nothing to be regarded, if due Means be not had to withstand the Malice and Force of those professed Enemies which seek the Destruction of the whole State.

'This, before all, and above all, is to be thought of, and with most Endeavour and Care to be provided for: For in vain are Laws made, and to

Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

'little Purpose do they serve, be they never so 'good, if such prevail as go about to make a Con-'quest of the Kingdom, and Destruction of the 'People.

'Wars heretofore were wont to be made either 'out of Ambition to enlarge Dominions, or out of 'Revenge to requite Injuries; but this against us 'is not so: In this the Holy Religion of God is 'sought to be rooted out, the whole Realm to be 'subdued, and the precious Life of her Excellent 'Majesty to be taken away; which hitherto, by 'the powerful Hand and great Goodness of the 'Almighty, have been preserved, maugre the *De-'vil*, the *Pope*, the *Spanish* Tyrant, and all the 'mischievous Designs of all her Enemies.

'Wherefore it is high Time that this be looked 'into, and that no way be left unsought, nor Means 'unused, that may serve for Defence thereof. 'Her Majesty hath not spared to disburse a Mass of 'Treasure, and to sell her Land for the Mainte-'nance of her Armies by Sea and Land, whereby, 'with such small Helps as from her Subjects hath 'been yielded, she hath defended and kept safe her 'Dominions from all such forcible Attempts as 'have been made; which being still to be performed 'by infinite Charge, her Majesty notwithstanding 'hears nothing more unwillingly than of Aids and 'Subsidies to be received from her People; though 'what she doth receive, she doth carefully bestow, 'and infinitely more of her own.

'The Taxations at this Day, howsoever they 'seem, are nothing so great as heretofore, in the 'Reigns of former Kings, they have been. In the 'Time of *Edw.* III. and the two next before him, 'and those three which succeeded next after him, 'the Payments of the Commons then did far ex-'ceed any that have been since her Majesty's 'Reign; which is of Record in the Histories of 'those Times to be seen: But never Cause so 'great to employ great Sums of Money as now.

'Now therefore you are to consider how to 'provide needful and convenient Aid, in some

'Mea-

Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

'Measure to maintain and support her Majesty's 'Charge which at present she is at, and is to continue at, for the Defence of the Realm. He 'cannot be well advised, which in this Case will 'not be forward to contribute and bestow whatsoever he hath: For if, with the Commonwealth 'it goes not well, well it cannot be with any private or particular Person. That being in Danger, he that would seek then to lay up Treasure 'and inrich himself, should be like to him that 'would busie himself to beautify his House, 'when the City wherein he dwelleth is on Fire; 'or to him that decketh up his Cabin, when the 'Ship wherein he saileth is ready to sink. To 'spare in that Case, is to spare for those which 'seek to devour all; and to give, is to give to ourselves. Her Majesty's Part being only carefully 'to bestow what is delivered into her Hands, 'wherein, Men performing their Duties, there is 'no Cause at all to fear: For the War is just, it 'is in Defence of the Religion of God, of our most 'gracious Sovereign, of our native Country, of 'our Wives, Children, Liberties, Lands, Lives, 'and whatsoever we have.

'Wherefore, not mistrusting your Forwardness, 'that I may not offend in too much enlarging this 'Point, as a poor Remembrancer to her Majesty, 'I shortly say to your Lordships, *Quod justum et necessarium est*; nothing can be more just than 'this War; nothing ought to be more necessary, 'than carefully to provide due Maintenance for 'the same. And, to you of the House of Commons, that you may orderly proceed, and wisely consult of these weighty Causes delivered unto 'you, her Majesty's Pleasure is, You should, according to your accustomed Manner, go down 'to the Lower House, and there make Choice of 'some grave, learned, and wise Man amongst you, 'to be your Speaker; who shall be for Understanding sufficient, and for Discretion fit, as your 'Mouth, to signify your Minds, and to make 'your Petitions known unto her Highness; and

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'him, upon *Thursday* next, to present in this 'Place.'

Christopher Yelverton, Esq; elected Speaker.

On the said Day, *October* 27th, the Commons presented Mr. Serjeant *Yelverton* as their Speaker, who claiming the antient and usual Freedom of Speech, Access, &c. was answered by the Lord Keeper, that her Majesty did give her Assent to it; with Admonition, however, that the said Liberties and Privileges should be discreetly and wisely used, as was meet.

Proceeding in the Case of Lord De La Ware, as to Precedency, &c.

There was the greatest Introduction of new Bishops and Lords to this Parliament, that we have yet met with at one Time. The very first Day there were no less than one Archbishop, four Earls, ten Bishops, and five Barons introduced; besides the Lord *De la Ware*, who put in his Claim for the Seat his Ancestors enjoyed in Parliament. His Petition was referred to a Committee of Lords appointed for that Purpose, to examine into his Pretensions and make their Report to the House accordingly. This Lord's Father had attempted to poison his Uncle, the then Lord *La Ware*, in Expectation of his Estate; and was, by an Order of Parliament, in the Reign of *Edward* VI. excluded from any Estate or Honour that might come to him after his Uncle's Death. The said *William* was also condemned for Treason in Queen *Mary's* Reign; but afterwards his Attainder taken off as if he had never been arraigned. But, whereas, by reason of the former Sentence, he could not by Law enjoy the Honour of his Ancestors, he was, by this Queen's special Favour, created Lord *La-Ware*, by a new Patent, and as long as he lived claimed Precedency according to the Date of his Creation. The Queen referred the whole Matter to the Lords in Parliament; who, finding that the former Sentence concerned only the Person of the said *William*, and that his Children were no Ways involv'd in the same, and that the Attainder in Queen *Mary's* Reign was no Manner of Bar, because it was impossible for him to lose a Title which he never had, besides, that he was afterwards fully

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and entirely reſtored, and the antient Dignity no way extinct by the new Creation, but only laid aſide in his Life time, becauſe he was not in Poſſeſſion of it when he received his new Patent. For all theſe Reaſons, he was adjudged by the Lords to hold the ſame Rank with his Predeceſſors betwixt the Lord *Willoughby* of *Ereſby* and the Lord *Berkley*; and he was accordingly reinſtated with the uſual Ceremonies, and an Entry was made, in the Lords *Journals* of this Award. Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

The ſame Day another Entry is made, on a Motion of the Lord Treaſurer, that foraſmuch as the *Journal-Books* kept heretofore, by the Clerks of Parliament, ſeemed to have ſome Errors in them in the Miſplacing of the Lords, it was doubted how the ſame might be of true Record. Therefore he thought proper that the Lords would pleaſe to take order that the ſaid Books, which henceforth ſhould be kept by the Clerk of Parliament, may be viewed and peruſed every Parliament, by certain Lords of that Houſe to be appointed for that Purpoſe, and the Liſt of the Lords, in their Order, to be ſubſcribed by them. Taking unto them for their better Information, the King at Arms; and that this Order might begin this preſent Parliament.

On another Motion of the Lord Treaſurer, ſuch Lords as were abſent from Parliament and had not ſent their Proxies, and ſuch others as made their Appearance in the Beginning of the Parliament and have not ſince attended, ſhould be admoniſhed to reform the ſame.

Theſe private Affairs being ſettled amongſt themſelves, the Care of the Public was next regarded; and the firſt Bill of Conſequence we meet with, is intituled, *An Act for the Increaſe of Mariners and Maintaining of Navigation; repealing a former Act, made in the 23d Year of this Reign, bearing the ſame Title.* This Act, which is ſtill extant in our Statute-Books, ſhew what Care the Legiſlature then took to ſupport and maintain the Navy

An Act for the Increaſe of Mariners;

of

Queen Elizabeth. 1597. of *England*, which had been and ever will be its greateſt Security (*f*).

Nor were they leſs careful to preſerve Peace at Home, by bringing in a Bill, this Parliament, for Erecting of Houſes of Corection, and for the Puniſhment of Rogues, Vagabonds and ſturdy Beggars. Which is the firſt Time thoſe Houſes, ſo neceſſary for correcting Vice, were eſtabliſhed in every Country by Law.

Puniſhment of Vagabonds;

Theſe and ſome other Bills for the Relief of the Poor, by Erecting of Hoſpitals and Work-houſes in Pariſhes, the Endowments of which were not to exceed 200l. *per Annum*; for the Maintenance of Tillage and Husbandry; for Preventing of Frauds by the Receivers, Collectors, &c. of the public Money; and for Preventing or Puniſhing Extortion, Rapes, and taking away Women againſt their Wills; for the Encouragement of the Woolen Manufactury, and to prevent the deceitful Stretching and Tentering of Northern Cloth, &c. were paſſed this Seſſion, and are in the printed Statutes. But,

And other public Purpoſes.

The Bill, for which this Parliament was principally called, was read in the Houſe of Lords, a third Time, on the 16th of *December* and paſſed; intituled, *An Act for a Grant of* three entire Subſides *and* ſix Fifteenths *and* Tenths *to the Queen's Majeſty*. The Bill had been brought into the Houſe of Commons on the 7th, and paſſed there on the 14th. This large Supply they ſaid was given to her, as a Compliment, 'for her Majeſty's 'wiſe Adminiſtration; for Reſtoring Religion to 'a better State; for the Security of the Kingdom 'from the common Enemy; for the Defence of '*Ireland*, and the Relief of *France* and the *Nether-*'*lands*. But, intreated her withal, as they had 'done in the laſt Parliament, *not to advance this* '*ſpecial Inſtance of their Bounty into a Precedent*, '*but only upon ſuch preſſing Neceſſities of the State.*'

A large Subſidy.

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(*f*) A Bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords and read, for the better Furniſhing and Supplying of lawful Surgeons for the Land and Sea Service; but at the ſecond Reading this Bill was drop'd; the Reaſon not aſſigned.

The Clergy were more moderate this Time, giving only four Shillings in the Pound, to be paid at six several Payments. Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

The last Act we think proper to mention, that was passed this Session of Parliament, was concerning the Deprivation of *Popish* Bishops, in the first Year of this Queen's Reign. Whereby it was declared, 'That the said Deprivation was, and 'should still be accounted legal and valid; and that 'the Bishops substituted in their Room, should be 'adjudged as lawfully created.' *Dec.* the 20th the Lord Keeper adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of *January* next coming. An Act for Confirming of the Deprivation of the Popish Bishops.

Some less Matters relating to Breaches of Privilege and Forms of managing Committees of both Houses, on a Conference, are entered this Session in the *Journal* of the Lords; nothing else of any Moment, but what will fall better in our Account of the Proceedings of the Commons this Parliament, to which we now come.

But these Proceedings will be found much shorter, and of less Consequence, than those in the last Parliament. The first Day of their Meeting, Serjeant *Yelverton* having been nominated by Sir *William Knolles*, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, as a fit Man for that Office: The said Serjeant stood up, and urged his Disabilities in too remarkable a Manner to be omitted (*g*).

'WHENCE your unexpected Choice of 'me to be your Mouth or Speaker 'should proceed, I am utterly ignorant. If from 'my Merits, strange it were that so few Deserts 'should purchase, suddenly, so great an Honour. 'Nor from my Ability doth this your Choice 'proceed; for well known it is to a great Num'ber in this Place now assembled, that my Estate 'is nothing correspondent for the Maintenance of 'this Dignity: For my Father, dying, left me a 'younger Brother, and nothing to me but my bare 'Annuity. Then growing to Man's Estate and Serjeant Yelverton's Excuse, on being chosen Speaker.

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(*g*) *D'Ewes's Journals*, from a Manuscript.

Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

‘ſome ſmall Practice of the Law, I took a Wife ‘by whom I have had many Children, the Keeping of us all being a great Impoveriſhment to my ‘Eſtate, and the Daily Living of us all nothing ‘but my daily Induſtry. Neither from my Perſon nor Nature doth this Choice ariſe; for he ‘that ſupplieth this Place ought to be a Man bigg ‘and comely, ſtately and well ſpoken, his Voice ‘great, his Courage majeſtical, his Nature haughty, and his Purſe plentiful and heavy: But contrarily, the Statute of my Body is ſmall, myſelf ‘not ſo well ſpoken, my Voice low, my Carriage ‘Lawyer-like, and of the common Faſhion, my ‘Nature ſoft and baſhful, my Purſe thin, light, and ‘never yet plentiful. Wherefore I now ſee the ‘only Cauſe of this Choice is, a gracious and favourable Cenſure of your good and undeſerved ‘Opinions of me. But I moſt humbly beſeech ‘you, recal this your ſudden Election; and therefore becauſe the more ſudden, the ſooner to be ‘recalled. But if this cannot move your ſudden ‘Choice, yet let this one Thing perſuade you, that ‘myſelf not being gracious in the Eye of her Majeſty, neither ever yet in Account with any great ‘Perſonages, ſhall deceive your Expectation in ‘thoſe weighty Matters and great Affairs which ‘ſhould be committed unto me. For if *Demoſthenes*, being ſo learned and eloquent as he was, ‘one whom none ſurpaſſed, trembled to ſpeak before *Phocion* at *Athens*; how much more ſhall I, ‘being unlearned and unſkilful, ſupply this Place ‘of Dignity, Charge, and Trouble, to ſpeak before ‘ſo many *Phocions* as here be? Yea, which is the ‘greateſt, before the unſpeakable Majeſty and ſacred Perſonage of our dread and dear Sovereign; ‘the Terror of whoſe Countenance will appale ‘and abaſe even the ſtouteſt Heart; yea, whoſe ‘very Name will pull down the greateſt Courage. ‘For how mightily doth Eſtate and Name of ‘a Prince deject the haughtieſt Stomach, even of ‘their greateſt Subjects? I beſeech you therefore, ‘again and again, to proceed unto a new Election,

‘here

'here being many better able, more sufficient, and 'far more worthy than myself, both for the Ho- 'nour of this Assembly, and general Good to the 'public State.' Queen Elizabeth, 1597.

This Speech being answered by Mr. Comptroller, and the whole House being unanimous in their Option, the said Serjeant was presented, and confirmed by the Queen, as hath been before related.

It hath been the Custom of these later *Protestant* Parliaments, for the Speaker to compose a Prayer, to be read by him every Morning during the Session. Accordingly, the present Speaker made and read the following.

The Speaker's Prayer during this Session.

O Eternal God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, the great and mighty Counsellor, We thy poor Servants, assembled before thee, in this honourable Senate, humbly acknowledge our great and manifold Sins and Imperfections, and thereby our Unworthiness to receive any Grace and Assistance from thee: Yet, most merciful Father, since, by thy Providence, we are called from all Parts of the Land to this famous Council of Parliament, to advise of those Things which concern thy Glory, the good of thy Church, the Prosperity of our Prince, and the Weal of her People; we most intirely beseech thee, that pardoning all our Sins in the Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, it would please thee, by the Brightness of thy Spirit, to expel Darkness and Vanity from our Minds, and Partiality from our Speeches; and grant unto us such Wisdom and Integrity of Heart as becometh the Servants of Jesus Christ, the Subjects of a gracious Prince, and Members of this honourable House.

Let not us, O Lord, who are met together for the Public Good of the whole Land, be more careless and remiss than we use to be in our own private Causes. Give Grace, we beseech thee, that every one of us may labour to shew a good Conscience to thy Majesty, a good Zeal to thy Word, and a loyal Heart to our Prince, and a Christian Love to our Country and Commonwealth.

O Lord,

Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

O Lord, so unite and conjoin the Hearts of Her Excellent Majesty and this whole Assembly, as they may be a threefold Cord not easily broken; giving Strength to such godly Laws as be already enacted, that they may be the better executed, and enacting such as are further requisite for the Bridling of the Wicked, and the Encouragement unto the godly and well-affected Subjects: That so thy great Blessing may be continued towards us, and thy grievous Judgments turned from us. And that only for Christ Jesus Sake, our most glorious and only Mediator and Advocate, to whom, with thy blessed Majesty and the Holy Ghost, be given all Honour and Praise, Power and Dominion, from this Time forth for evermore.

After this Prayer was ended and a Bill against Forestallers, &c. read, Mr. *Francis Bacon* stood up, and made a Motion 'against Inclosures and De-'population of Towns and Houses of Husbandry 'and Tillage. And to this Purpose he brought 'in, as he termed it, two Bills, not drawn with a 'polished Pen, but with a polished Heart, free from 'Affection and Affectation. And because former 'Laws are Medicines of our Understanding, he said, 'that he had perused the Preambles of former Sta-'tutes, and by them did see the Inconveniences of 'this Matter, being then scarce out of the Shell 'to be now full ripened. And, he said, that the 'Overflowing of the People here, makes a Shrink-'ing and Abate elsewhere: And that these two 'Mischiefs, though they be exceeding great, yet 'they seem the less, because *Quæ Mala cum multis 'patimur, leviora videntur.* And though it may 'be thought ill, and very prejudicial to Lords that 'have inclosed great Grounds, and pulled down 'even whole Towns, and converted them to 'Sheep Pastures; yet considering the Increase of 'People, and the Benefit of the Commonwealth, I 'doubt not but every Man will deem the Revival 'of former Moth-eaten Laws, in this Point, a 'praise worthy Thing. For, in Matters of Policy, 'Ill is not to be thought ill, which bringeth forth 'Good. For, Inclosure of Grounds brings Depo-'pulation,

Bill for Increase of Husbandry.

'pulation, which brings first Idleness, secondly Decay of Tillage, thirdly Subversion of Houses, and Decay of Charity, and Charges to the Poor; fourthly impoverishing the State of the Realm. A Law, for the taking away of such Inconveniences, is not to be thought ill or hurtful unto the general State. And I would be sorry to see within this Kingdom, that Piece of *Ovid's* Verse prove true, *Jam Seges ubi Troja fuit:* So in *England*, instead of a whole Town full of People, nought but green Fields, but a Shepherd and a Dog. The Eye of Experience is the sure Eye, but the Eye of Wisdom is the quick-sighted Eye; and by Experience we daily see, *Nemo putat illud videre turpe, quod sibi sit quæstuosum.* And therefore there is almost no Conscience made in destroying the Savour of Life, Bread I mean, for *Panis Sapor Vitæ.* And therefore a strict and rigorous Law had need to be made against those viperous Natures, who fulfil the Proverb, *Si non posse quod vult, velle tamen quod potest*; which if it be made by us, and Life given unto it by Execution in our several Counties, no doubt but they will prove Laws tending to God's Honour, the Renown of her Majesty, the Fame of this Parliament, and the everlasting Good of this Kingdom. And therefore I think them worthy to be read and received.' Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

This Speech was seconded by Sir *John Fortescue*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gave his Opinion much in the same Way with Mr. *Bacon* and also moved for a Committee to consider of the Bill; which was ordered accordingly.

Nov. the 8th. A grand Committee of Privileges and Elections being appointed, Mr. *George Moor* made a Motion: 'He shewed the great and burthensome Charge upon the Subjects of this Realm; being compelled, under great Penalties, to have and keep sundry Sorts of Armour and Weapons, at present altogether unnecessary and unuseful. Besides being charged with the finding and providing Against unnecessary Armour;

'of

Queen Elizabeth. 1597. ‘ of such other Weapons and Armour, from Time ‘ to Time, as the Captains, who are appointed to ‘ this Charge, upon any Occasion of Service, will ‘ call for and appoint, at their own Pleasure. For ‘ Redress whereof, and that a Law might be made ‘ for a Certainty in this Matter, he moved for a ‘ Committee, which was accordingly nominated.

For lessening Penal Laws; The same Day Mr. *Francis Hastings* moved ‘ for ‘ the Abridgment and Reforming the excessive ‘ Number of superfluous and burthensome Penal ‘ Laws.’ This was seconded by Mr. *Francis Bacon* and others, and another Committee was appointed to consider of a Bill for that Purpose. Amongst these there is only the first, against Inclosures, which passed into a Law.

Against Monopolies; *Nov.* the 8th. Mr. *Wingfield* moved ‘ for a Bill ‘ to correct sundry Abuses and Enormities, occasi- ‘ oned by Patents of Privileges and Monopolies.’ The next Day, notwithstanding some Opposition, the Bill was committed; but it did not pass into a Law this Parliament. And, it is only mentioned, as it was a Bill which touched the Prerogative, held very sacred in this Reign. A Revival of this Bill occasioned much Debate in the next Parliament.

And unlawful Marriages. A Bill having been brought into the House, and committed, relating to Abuses in Licences for Marriages, without Banns; with the Abuses in Probats of Testaments and Processes *ex Officio* by Ecclesiastical Officers; the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted them, That her Majesty had been informed of the many horrible incestuous Marriages spoken of in this House the Day before. And, being resolved to redress and punish the same, commanded him to take Information of the Grievances from the particular Members of this House. By this, it appears, that tho' the Queen had been ever opposite to any Manner of Innovation in Ecclesiastical Government; yet, understanding the Abuses, here spoken of, had been proved in the House, she had not only given Leave to the Commons to treat thereof, but had encouraged them to proceed in the

Reformation of them. But, notwithſtanding this fair Beginning, the Bill never paſſed into a Law; and ſome Days after was drop'd by the Houſe of Commons itſelf. Queen Elizabeth, 1597.

Nov. 15th. A Motion was made for a Supply, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'who put the 'Houſe in mind of the Lord Keeper's Speech to 'them, on the firſt Day of this Parliament, by her 'Majeſty's Direction, touching the Cauſes of her 'Highneſs's Calling of this Parliament, and ſhew-'ing, at large, her Majeſty's great and exceſſive 'Charges, ſuſtained for the Defence of her High-'neſs's Realms and Dominions, againſt the Force 'of the King of *Spain*, amounting to more than a 'treble Value of the laſt three *Subſidies* and ſix *Fif-* Motion for a large Supply 'teenths and *Tenths*, granted unto her in the laſt 'Parliament; and declaring further the great Ne-'ceſſity of ſome Maſs of Treaſure, to be provided 'towards the Supply of her Highneſs's Charges in 'the Continuation of the Maintenance of her Ma-'jeſty's Forces, in Defence of her Highneſs's 'Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, againſt the 'Forces and Invaſions of the ſaid King of *Spain*, 'and further referring the Particulars of the De-'ſigns and Attempts of the ſaid King of *Spain*, 'ſince the laſt Parliament, to be reported unto this 'Houſe, by Mr. Secretary; moved for a ſelected 'Committee of this Houſe, to be nominated to 'treat and conſult concerning that Matter.'

Hereupon Mr. Secretary *Cecil* ſhewed, at large, 'The Practices, and Attempts of the ſaid King 'of *Spain*, againſt her Majeſty and her Realms, 'Dominions and Subjects, in divers Sorts, and at 'ſundry Times; together with his great Over-'throws in the ſame by the Mighty Hand of God, 'and of her Highneſs's Forces, to his perpetual Ig-'nominy and great Diſhonour throughout the 'whole World.' And ſo, after a large Diſcourſe, moſt excellently delivered by him, ſays the *Journaliſt*, concluded with a Motion 'for proceeding to 'the ſaid Committees.' Whereupon, after ſome Speeches by Sir *Edward Hobby* and Mr. *Francis Bacon*,

Queen Elizabeth. 1597. It was agreed, that all the Privy Council, being Members of this Houſe, all the Knights returned for the Counties into this preſent Parliament, and all Citizens for Cities returned into this Houſe, ſhould meet about the ſaid Buſineſs, on *Friday* next, at Two in the Afternoon, in this Houſe; and any other of this Houſe then to come to them alſo at their Pleaſure.

Which is agreed to, without Oppoſition.

It is worth Obſervation, that notwithſtanding the large Supply, granted by the laſt Parliament, met with ſo much Oppoſition in the Commons; both in the many Diſputes they had with the Lords about it, and amongſt themſelves: Yet a Grant of the ſame Nature, and with ſome harder Conditions, on the Part of the Subject, paſſed this Houſe in far leſs Time, and without any Oppoſition at all. For a Bill for a Grant of three *Subſidies* and ſix *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid in a ſhorter Time than thoſe granted laſt Parliament, was read a firſt Time, *December* the 7th. On the 10th it was ordered to be engroſſed; and, on the 14th of the ſame, it paſſed this Houſe, and was ſent up to the Lords, by Mr. Comptroller and others. On which the *Journaliſt* makes this Obſervation; 'That as this Grant exceeded that in the laſt Parliament, in Reſpect of the Manner of Payment, ſo in the next a ſtill larger Supply was given.' By which, we muſt either judge that the Neceſſities of the State were in theſe Times exceeding urgent; or that the former Grants ſerved as leading Precedents to the latter. Notwithſtanding the Clauſe in the Preamble to the Bill of the firſt Grant expreſsly ſays, *That theſe large and unuſual Grants, made to a moſt excellent Princeſs, on a moſt preſſing and extraordinary Occaſion, ſhould not, at any Time hereafter, be drawn into a Precedent.*

The reſt of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, in this Seſſion of Parliament, are about Matters of ſmall Account to this Hiſtory, and therefore omitted. On the 20th of *December* the Houſe was adjourned to the 11th of *January*, on account of *Chriſtmas* Holy-Days. And, on the 9th

6th of *February*, the Queen came to the House of Lords in the Afternoon, as was the usual Custom in those Days; when, sending for the Commons, the Speaker, having made his three Reverences to her Majesty, spake, in Effect, as follows: Queen Elizabeth, 1597.

'FIRST, he shewed the Happiness of a Common-Wealth governed by Laws, by which Subjects are held in due Obedience; which her Majesty observing, had now called a Parliament for the Preservation of some Laws, Amending of others, cutting off unnecessary Statutes, and the making of new, never before enacted: And that her Majesty's Subjects in this Parliament, considering the Strength of the Realm to consist in the Strength of the Prince and Subjects, and their Strength to stand first in the Hands of God and next in Provision of Treasure; therefore, said he, your Majesty's most humble, dutiful, and obedient Subjects, have, by me their Mouth and Speaker, presented here a free Gift of their free and loving Hearts; the which, I hope and think, was granted without a Thought of a *No*. Sure I am, without the Word of a *No*. The Speaker's Speech at the Dissolution of the Parliament.

'The second Part shewed a Commandment imposed on him by the House of Commons, which was touching Monopolies or Patents of Privilege, the which was a set and penned Speech, made at a Committee.

'The Third shewed a Thankfulness of the House of Commons for the Pardon.

'The Fourth and last contained the said Speaker's own Petition, That if any Faults had been committed in the House, they might not be now again revived. And if either he had spoken too much, or not so much as in Duty he ought to have done, he besought her Majesty's Pardon. And that as it had pleased her Majesty to grant Pardon to all her loving Subjects, so that she would not exempt him alone, *&c.*

Queen Elizabeth 1597.

To which Speech the Lord Keeper, by the Queen's Command, made the following Anſwer:

The Lord Keeper's Anſwer.

'OUR Moſt Dread Sovereign, her Excellent Majeſty, hath given me, in Charge, to ſay unto you and the reſt of her loving Subjects, that ſhe doth thankfully accept of their free Gift of Subſidy granted by the Commons, which ſhe would not have required, had not the Puiſſance of the Enemy conſtrained her thereunto. Secondly, Touching the Monopolies, her Majeſty hoped that her dutiful and loving Subjects would not take away her Prerogative, which is the chiefeſt Flower in her Garden, and the principal and head Pearl in her Crown and Diadem; but that they will rather leave that to her Diſpoſition. And as her Majeſty hath proceeded to Trial of them already, ſo ſhe promiſeth to continue, that they ſhall all be examined, to abide the Trial and true Touchſtone of the Law. Thirdly, Touching her Pardon, her Majeſty's Pleaſure is, that I ſhew unto you, that you do not ſo willingly accept it as ſhe giveth it.

'Fourthly, For your Pardon, Mr. Speaker, her Majeſty ſaith, That you have ſo learnedly and ſo eloquently defended yourſelf now, and painfully behaved yourſelf heretofore, as that your Labour deſerveth double her Thanks: But, in your Petition, I muſt alſo join with you, in beſeeching her moſt Excellent Majeſty, that if any thing, through Want of Experience, or through mine Imperfections and Ignorance, have overſlipped me, it may be pardoned and remitted.'

The Lord Keeper having finiſhed his Speech, and the Queen given the Royal Aſſent to fifteen Private and twenty-eight publick Acts, and refuſed or quaſhed forty-eight ſeveral Bills, which had paſſed both Houſes, the ſaid great Officer, by her Majeſty's Command, diſſolved this Parliament.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Year after the laſt Parliament was diſſolved, died *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High-Trea-

Treasurer of *England*. This Statesman had lived to a good old Age; and, at last fell, exhausted by Study and the necessary Fatigue of his Employment. He had acquired a vast Estate, with as great a Character; and left two Earldoms in his Family, to this Day enjoyed by his Posterity. Being set at the Head of the Public Revenue, he kept a very strict Eye on all the Farmers of the Customs; and he used to say, *That he never cared to see the Treasury swell like a disordered Spleen, when the other Parts of the Commonwealth were in a Consumption.* He used all possible Means to enrich both the Queen and the Kingdom, by his Administration; in which he had good Success. For, says *Camden*, it was his usual Maxim, as well as common Expression, *That nothing could be for the Advantage of a Prince, which makes any Way against his Reputation.* Two admirable Lessons to be studied by all succeeding Treasurers.

Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

The Death of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh.

Nothing material happened in the State for some more Years after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, fit for these Inquiries; except, that we find *Puritanical* Principles were now become almost as formidable to the Established Church, as *Popery* itself. In the Year 1599, the forty-second of this Queen, two special Commissions were sent out, to the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, directed to each Archbishop, the Bishops, and many other Clergy, Knights and Gentlemen of those Districts, to enquire into and suppress them. These Commissions recite the Titles of all the Acts of Parliament, made in this Reign, for giving Power to the Crown to exercise Jurisdiction in Spirituals. Beginning with that Act of the first Year, entitled, *An Act restoring to the Crown its antient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the same.*

The Rise of the High-Commission-Court.

The Commissions are both of them preserved, at length, in *Rymer's* public Acts (*b*). By them, the Commissioners there named, are authorised and appointed to inquire of all and singular heretical,

(*b*) *Fœd. Anglican.* Tom. XVI. Pag. 386, 400.

Queen Elizabeth. 1597.

cal, enormous, and offenſive Opinions, ſeditious Books, private Conventicles, *&c.* *&c.* and to put the Laws in Execution againſt all ſuch Perſons, as ſhall offend againſt the ſaid Statutes, and bring them to condign Puniſhment.

This was called the *High-Commiſſion-Court*, which, tho' firſt inſtituted by this truly *Proteſtant* Queen, and fortified by ſo many Acts of Parliament, was, in a ſucceeding Reign aboliſhed, together with Epiſcopacy, and all Kingly Government.

Anno Regni 43. 1601. At Weſtminſter.

We now come to the laſt Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was called to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on the 27th Day of *October*, in the 43d Year of her Reign. When, being aſſembled, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, having Notice that her Majeſty, with divers Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and others, were ſet in the Upper Houſe, haſted thither; but before they came, the Door of the Houſe was ſhut, and notwithſtanding any Means that was made by them, was ſtill kept ſhut, until the Lord Keeper had ended his Speech; their Reſentment of which will appear in the Sequel. The Subſtance of what the Lord Keeper ſpoke, at this Time, was as followeth.

The Lord Keeper's Speech at opening the Seſſion.

'HE uſed Perſuaſion of Thankfulneſs, and of Obedience, and alſo ſhewed her Majeſty's Deſire of Diſſolution of this Parliament before *Chriſtmas*. He ſhewed unto us the Neceſſity we ſtand in, and the Means to prevent it; the Neceſſity, the Wars between *Spain* and *England*; the Means, Treaſure, *&c.* His Advice was, that Laws in Force might be reviſed and explained, and no new Laws made. Our Enemies, he ſaid, were Enemies to God, the Queen, and the Peace of this Kingdom, conſpired to overthrow Religion, to reduce us to a tyrannical Servitude. Theſe Enemies he named to be the Biſhop of *Rome* and the King of *Spain*. Our State being thus, he ſummoned us to be provident, by reaſon we deal with a provident Enemy; and confident, becauſe God hath ever, and,

he

'he hoped, will ever bleſs the Queen with ſucceſsful Fortune. He ſhewed how apparent his Providence was, by the Means and Courſe he taketh for our Inſtruction: And ſecondly, The Succeſs we had againſt him by God's ſtrong Arm of Defence in 1588, and divers other Times ſince. You ſee, ſaid he, to what Effect the Queen's Support of the *French* King's Eſtate hath brought him; even made him one of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*; but when her Majeſty's Forces left him, how was he fain to ranſom a ſervile Peace at our Enemies the *Spaniard's* Hands with diſhonourable Conditions. For the *Low-Countries*, how by her Aid, from a confuſed Government and State ſhe brought them to an Unity in Counſel, and defended them with ſuch Succeſs, in her Attempts againſt the greateſt Power of the *Spaniards* tyrannical Deſigns; which have ſo much gauled him, that, how many deſperate Practices have been both deviſed, conſented to, and ſet on foot by Commandment of the late King his Father, I need not ſhew you, neither trouble you with Arguments for Proof thereof; being confeſſed by them that ſhould have been Authors themſelves. But, *de mortuis nil niſi bonum.* I would be loth to ſpeak of the Dead, much more to ſlander the dead. I have ſeen her Majeſty wear at her Girdle the Price of her Blood; I mean, Jewels which have been given to her Phyſicians to have done that unto her, which I hope, God will ever keep from her; but ſhe hath rather worn them in Triumph than for the Price, which hath not been greatly valuable. Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'Then he fell to perſuade us, becauſe new Occaſions were offered of Conſultations, to be provident in Proviſion of Means for our own Defence and Safety, ſeeing the King of *Spain* means to make *England* miſerable by beginning with *Ireland*; neither doth he begin with the Rebels, but even with the Territory of the Queen herſelf. He ſhewed that Treaſure muſt be our Means, for Treaſure is the Sinews of War, *&c.*'

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Notwithstanding this unusual Exclusion of the Lower House; on the 30th of *October*, when the Queen came to the House of Lords, the *Journalist* tells us, That the Commons presented *John Crooke*, Esq; Recorder of *London*, for their Speaker, who, after three low Reverences to her Majesty, spoke as follows.

John Crook Esq. chosen Speaker.

Most Sacred and Mighty Sovereign,

His Speech to the Queen.

'UPON your Majesty's Commandment, your most dutiful and loving Commons, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Lower House, have chosen me your Majesty's most humble Servant, being a Member of the same House, to be their Speaker; but finding the Weakness of myself, and my Ability too weak to undergo so great a Burthen, I do most humbly beseech your Sacred Majesty to continue your most gracious Favour towards me, and not to lay this Charge, so unsupportable, upon my unworthy and unable Self: And that it would please you to command you Commons, to make a new Election of another, more able and more sufficient to discharge the great Service to be appointed by your Majesty and your Subjects. And I beseech your most excellent Majesty, not to interpret my Denial herein, to proceed from any Unwillingness to perform all devoted dutiful Service; but rather out of your Majesty's Clemency and Goodness, to interpret the same to proceed from that inward Fear and Trembling which hath ever possessed me when, heretofore, with most gracious Audience, it hath pleased your Majesty to license me to speak before you. For, I know, and must acknowledge, that, under God, even through your Majesty's great Bounty and Favour, I am what I am; and therefore none of your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects more bound to be ready, and being ready, to perform even the least of your Majesty's Commandments. I therefore do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that in regard the Service of so great a Prince,

'and

'and flouriſhing Kingdom, may the better and more ſucceſsfully be effected, to command your dutiful and loving Commons, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Lower Houſe, to proceed to a new Election.' Queen Elizabeth, 1601.

To which the Lord Keeper, having received her Majeſty's Orders, anſwered thus:

Mr. Speaker,

'Her Majeſty with gracious Attention having heard your wiſe and grave Excuſe for your Diſcharge, commanded me to ſay unto you, That even your eloquent Speech of Defence for yourſelf, is a great Motive, and a Reaſon very perſuaſive, both to ratify and approve the Choice of the loving Commons, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, as alſo to commend their wiſe and diſcreet Choice of yourſelf, in her gracious Cenſure, both for Sufficiency well able, and for your former Fidelity and Services well approved and accepted of: And therefore her Majeſty taketh this Choice of you for *bonum Omen*, a Sign of good and happy Succeſs, when the Beginning is taken in Hand with ſo good Wiſdom and Diſcretion. The Lord Keeper's Anſwer.

'Her Majeſty therefore commanded me to ſay unto you, that ſhe well liketh of your Election, and therefore ſhe ratifieth it with her Royal Aſſent.'

The Speaker replied in this Manner.

Moſt Sacred and Moſt Puiſſant Queen,

'SEEING it hath pleaſed you to command my Service, by conſenting to the free Election of your dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of me to be their Speaker, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to give me leave to ſhew unto you the dutiful Thoughts and earneſt Affections of your loyal Subjects to do your Majeſty all Services, and to defend your Royal and Sacred Perſon both

'with

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'with their Lives and Goods, againſt, *&c.* And 'ſo made a vehement Invective againſt the Ty- 'ranny of the King of *Spain*, the *Pope's* Ambi- 'tion, the Rebels of *Ireland*, which, he ſaid, were 'like a Snake cut in Pieces, which did crawl and 'creep to join themſelves together again. And 'laſtly, with Prayers to continue the proſperous 'Eſtate and Peace of this Kingdom, which hath 'been defended, as he ſaid, by the mighty Arm of 'our Dread and Sacred Queen. To which ſhe 'anſwered openly herſelf, *No, but by the mighty 'Hand of God, Mr.* Speaker. Then he procceed- 'ed to the laſt Part, to beſeech her Majeſty for 'Freedom of Speech to every particular Member 'of this Houſe and their Servants. And laſtly, if 'any Miſtaking of any Speech delivered unto him 'from the Commons ſhould happen, that her Ma- 'jeſty would attribute that to his Weakneſs in De- 'livery or Underſtanding, and not to the Houſe, 'as alſo any Forgetfulneſs through Want of Me- 'mory, or that Things were not ſo judiciouſly 'handled or expreſſed by him as they were deli- 'vered by the Houſe.'

The Lord Keeper, receiving further Inſtructions from her Majeſty, anſwered as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

'HER Majeſty doth greatly commend and 'like of your grave Speech, well divided, 'well contrived; the firſt proceeding from a ſound 'Invention, and the other from a ſettled Judgment 'and Experience. You have well, and well in- 'deed, weighed the Eſtate of this Kingdom; well 'obſerved the Greatneſs of our puiſſant and grand 'Enemy the King of *Spain*, the continual and 'exceſſive Charges of the Wars of *Ireland*; which 'if they be well weighed, do not only ſhew the 'Puiſſance of our gracious Sovereign in defending 'us; but alſo, the Greatneſs of the Charge conti- 'nually beſtowed by her Majeſty even out of her 'own Revenues to protect us, and the Expoſing

'of

Queen Elizabeth, 1601.

'of her Majesty to continual Trouble and toilsome 'Cares for the Benefit and Safety of her Subjects. 'Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, it behoveth us to think 'and say, as was well delivered by a grave Man 'lately in a *Concio ad Clerum*, *Opus est subsidio nè 'fiat excidium.*

'Touching your other Requests for Freedom 'of Speech, her Majesty willingly consenteth 'thereto, with this Caution, That the Time be not 'spent in idle and vain Matter, painting the same 'out with Froth and Volubility of Words, where- 'by the Speakers may seem to gain some reputed 'Credit, by imboldening themselves to Contradic- 'tion, and by troubling the House of Purpose, 'with long and vain Orations, to hinder the pro- 'ceeding in Matters of greater and more weighty 'Importance. Touching Access to her Person, 'she most willingly granteth the same, desiring she 'may not be troubled unless urgent Matter and 'Affairs of great Consequence compel you there- 'unto: For this hath been held for a wise Maxim, '*In troubling great Estates, you must trouble seldom.*

'For Liberties unto yourselves and Persons, her 'Majesty hath commanded me to say unto you 'all, That she ever intendeth to preserve the Li- 'berties of the House, and granteth Freedom even 'unto the meanest Member of this House: But 'her Majesty's Pleasure is, you should not main- 'tain and keep with you notorious Persons, either 'for Life or Behaviour, and desperate Debtors 'who never come abroad, fearing Laws, but at 'these Times; Pettifoggers and Vipers of the 'Common-Wealth; prolling and common Solli- 'citors, that set Dissension btween Man and 'Man; and Men of the like Condition to these: 'These her Majesty earnestly wisheth a Law may 'be made against; as also, that no Member of 'this Parliament would entertain or bolster up any 'Man of the like Humour or Quality, on Pain of 'her Highness's Displeasure. For your Excuse of 'the House and of yourself, her Majesty com- 'manded me to say, That your Sufficiency hath

'to

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'so oftentimes been approved before her, that she 'doubteth not of your sufficient Discharge of the 'Place you shall serve in. Wherein she willeth 'you, to have a special Eye and Regard not to 'make new and idle Laws, and trouble the House 'with them; but rather look to the Abridging and 'Repealing of divers obsolete and superfluous Sta-'tutes; as also, first, to take in Hand Matters of 'greatest Moment and Consequence. In doing 'thus, Mr. Speaker, you shall fulfil her Majesty's 'Commandment, do your Country Good, and 'satisfy her Highness's Expectation.'

A Bill for restraining the Use of Coaches;

The first Thing remarkable which the House of Lords went upon, was to bring in a Bill to restrain the excessive and superfluous Use of Coaches. How long these commodious Machines had been then in Use is uncertain; but, probably, some Time, by its growing to such a Height, as to occasion this sumptuary Law to restrain the Use of them. What the Tenor of it was, we know not; for, at the second Reading, it is entered, That whereas the said Bill did in some Sort concern the Maintenance of Horses, within this Realm, Consideration ought to be had of the Statutes heretofore ordained, relating to the Breed and Maintenance of Horses; and a new Bill was to be framed for that Purpose, wherein the Use of Coaches might be included.——But we hear no more of this Matter.

For Preserving of Game;

A Bill was also read a first and second Time for the Preservation of Pheasants and Partridges; but tho', at the second Reading, this Bill was of that Consequence as to be referred to a Committee of twenty-three Lords, amongst which were one Archbishop and four Bishops, and three Judges, with the Attorney General ordered to attend them, for their better Direction, yet no farther Notice is taken of it in the *Journals*.

And against a Multitude of Ale-Houses.

Another Bill passed the House of Lords, for the Suppressing of the Multitude of Ale-Houses and Tipling-Houses. A Bill was also sent up by the Commons, much to the same Purpose, entituled,

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An Act againſt Drunkards, and common Haunters of Ale-Houſes and Taverns; but we do not find by the printed Statutes, that either of theſe Bills paſſed into a Law at this Time. Mr. *Camden* informs us that the Vice of Drunkeneſs was firſt brought into *England*, from the *Netherlands*, about the Year 1581. Before that Time, he adds, that the *Engliſh* of all the Northern Nations had been the moſt moderate in drinking, and were much commended for their Sobriety; 'till theſe *Dutch* Wars firſt taught the *Engliſh* Soldiery to drown themſelves in ſtrong Liquors, and by drinking others Healths, to impair their own. In the Courſe of theſe Enquiries, we have met with many Bills that have been drop'd or rejected in one Parliament, and yet have ſerved as Ground-Plots to proceed upon and finiſh in another. Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

A Bill was read twice in the Houſe of Lords this Seſſion, and committed, which had this ſhort Title, *An Act for the Aſſurance of Lands*. Since it did not paſs, and we know not to what Purpoſe it was deſigned, we only mention it for two extraordinary Rules of the Houſe made concerning the Debates about this Bill. When the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Chairman of the Committee, returned the Bill to the Houſe, with certain Amendments, they were preſently twice read and the Bill ordered to be engroſſed. But the Biſhop of *London*, one of the Committee, offering to ſpeak to the Bill, or to the Amendments, a Queſtion was moved by the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Steward, 'Whether it was agreeable to the 'good Order and antient Cuſtom of that Houſe, 'that the ſaid Biſhop, being one of the Com-'mittee, and diſſenting from the reſt, in ſome 'Matter, either of the Bill or of the Amendments, 'might ſpeak thereto upon the bringing in and 'preſenting the Amendments?' The Lord Keeper propoſed this Matter to the Houſe, and the Queſtion being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, 'That any Member of a Committee might ſpeak, 'in this Caſe, either to the Body of the Bill, or 'the

Orders of the Lords in relation to Bills.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601. 'the Amendments before they were engroſſed.' And Order was given that this Reſolution ſhould be entered in the *Journals*, for clearing the ſame Doubt, if it ſhould happen to ariſe in any future Parliament.

The next was, that on the third Reading of this Bill, many Objections ariſing againſt ſome Points of the ſame, made by the Biſhop of *London* and ſeveral other Lords: inſomuch that the Houſe was divided in Opinion, whether it ſhould be put to the Queſtion for the paſſing thereof, or no? Many Lords were deſirous that any Defect in the ſaid Bill might be rather reformed, than, by this Queſtion, to put it to the Hazard of being rejected. Another Way was therefore firſt propoſed, and the Queſtion put, 'Whether the ſaid Bill, having 'been referred to a Committee, at the ſecond 'Reading, and by them returned with ſome A-'mendments, and thereupon ordered to be engroſ-'ſed, might, after the Engroſſing and the third 'Reading, be recommitted, or no?' The Numbers *pro* and *con* being equal, it was judged that the negative Part, who were againſt recommitting the ſaid Bill, ſhould prevail. Following the uſual Rule in Law, as the Lord Keeper obſerved, 'That 'where the Negatives and Affirmatives were equal, '*Semper præſumitur pro Negante.*'

Laſtly, the Bill itſelf being put to the Queſtion, 'Whether it ſhould paſs or no?' Was, by the Majority, rejected.

It ſeems, by the Lords *Journals*, as if the whole Buſineſs of this Seſſion was employ'd in trying Complaints upon Breaches of Privilege: (The Recital of which is too tedious for our Purpoſe) Inſomuch, that on the 10th of *December* the Lord Keeper acquainted the Houſe, that he had receiv'd a Command from her Majeſty to inform them, 'That the Parliament ſhould end on the 17th or '18th of this Month at the fartheſt; that they 'might repair to their ſeveral Countries againſt '*Chriſtmas*. She therefore required them to em-'ploy and ſpend that Time which remained, in 'Mat-

'Matters concerning the Public, and not on pri- Queen Elizabeth. 1601.
'vate Buſineſs.'

Some few Bills, indeed, of Conſequence, had been proceeded upon; but the main Bill for a Supply was yet to come, which, no Doubt, the Queen's Meſſage expedited; for it was delivered on the 10th of *December*, and on the 12th the Commons ſent up a Bill for a Grant of *four* entire *Subſidies*, and *eight Fifteenths* and *Tenths*; which, in a few Days more, had the Aſſent of both Houſes. And very ſoon after, a Grant of four Subſidies of four Shillings in the Pound, from the Clergy, was confirmed by Parliament. A vaſt Subſidy.

It is ſtrange that Mr. *Camden* takes no Manner of Notice of this monſtrous, over grown Supply, nor the Occcaſion of it. The *Engliſh* were ſtill ſomewhat engaged in the *Low Country* Wars, and the Year after, a Deſcent was made by the *Spaniards* in *Ireland*, but without Effect; but neither of theſe ſeem to give Occaſion for ſo large a Tax upon the Subject as was now granted; and which was juſt four Times as much as was given in the Beginning of this Reign, or in any Reign before it. And it is ſomewhat wonderful, that we meet with no Grudges or Diſcontents in the Kingdom, when it was collected. Which makes Lord *Coke's* Obſervation ſtill more juſt, 'That no Tax on the Sub-'ject in *England* will raiſe any Commotions in 'the Gathering, which hath but a *Parliamentary* '*Sanction* to ſupport it.'

It hath been taken Notice of, at the Opening of this Parliament, that the Commons were not admitted, as uſual, into the Houſe of Lords, to hear the Lord Keeper's Speech. Nor is there any Notice taken, in the ſaid Speech, of their being commanded to go to their own Houſe and chuſe a Speaker. Much diſcontented at this Uſage, they returned back, however; and, being aſſembled, Mr. *Richard Liefe*, one of the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, ſtood up and addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Comptroller of the Houſhold, telling him the Wrong done unto the greateſt Part of the Members of this The Commons reſent their being ſhut out of the Houſe of Lords at the opening of the Seſſions.

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House, by their not being suffered to come into the Upper House, to hear her Majesty's Pleasure, by the Mouth of the Lord Keeper. Humbly desiring him, as a Comptroller, to be a Means, that the Reason therefore might be imparted unto some of the Members of this House, for their better Satisfaction (*i*). The Comptroller answered, That he thought this Request very reasonable and meet, and it should be done at convenient Time; but seemed to impute the said Fault wholly to the Gentleman-Usher of the Upper House.

The Ceremony of presenting the Speaker, *&c.* being given before, we pass on to relate the rest of the more remarkable Proceedings of the Commons in this Parliament.

November the 3d. Mr. *Liefe* stood up again in the House, and moved, 'That since many of the 'Members were Strangers to the Lord Keeper's 'Speech, and consequently of the Cause which 'moved her Majesty to call this Parliament, they 'might be in some sort satisfied in that Point.' On which Mr. Secretary *Cecil* repeated the Heads of the said Speech to the House, and then proceeded.

Secretary Cecil recapitulates the Heads of the Lord Keeper's Speech.

'For my own Advice, touching the particular 'Counsels of this House, I wish that we would not 'trouble ourselves with any fantastic Speeches or 'idle Bills, but rather such as be for the general 'Good, both light in Conception, and facile in 'Execution. Now seeing it hath pleased you all 'hitherto with Patience to hear me, if with your 'Favour, I may particularize and shew the Ground 'of the former-delivered Speech, touching the State 'of *Ireland*, I shall be very glad, both for my own 'Discharge, and for your Satisfaction. The King 'of *Spain*, having quit himself of *France*, by a 'base and servile Peace, forgetteth not to follow 'the Objects of his Father's Ambition, *England* and 'the *Low Countries*. He hath made Overtures 'of Peace, which, if they might both be honou-'rable and for the Public Good, I hold that neither 'a wise nor an honest Man would impugn them.

'He

(*i*) The Comptroller of the Houshold usually proposed the Speaker.

'He hath put an Army into *Ireland*, the Num- Queen Elizabeth.
'ber four thousand Soldiers, under the Conduct of 1601.
'a valiant, expert, and hardy Captain, who choos-
'eth, rather than return into his own Country
'without any famous Enterprize, to live and die
'in this Service. These four thousand are three
'Parts natural *Spaniards*, and of his best expert
'Soldiers, except them of the *Low-Countries*:
'Those he could not spare, because of his Enter-
'prize of *Ostend*. And how dangerous the Loss
'of that Town would be to this Land, I think
'there is no Man of Experience but can witness
'with me. For he would easily be Master of all
'that Coast, so that the Trade between *England*
'and the *Low-Countries* would be quite dissolved.
'Yea, he would be so dangerous a Neighbour to
'us, that we, which are now Tenants by Discre-
'tion, are likely shortly to be Tenants by the
'Courtesy. When he is our Neighbour of the
'*Low-Countries*, what Neighbour hath *Spain*, to
'whom he shall not be troublesome.

'I will shew you further what besides this he
'hath done, and how Eagle-eyed he is continually
'over us. To resist the *Turk's* Attempts, he hath
'sent ten thousand Men; to the *Low-Countries* nine
'thousand; in an Enterprize of his own against the
'*Turk* he hath sent . . . . . ; which being dis-
'patched, those Soldiers shall return against the
'next Spring, and second these four thousand Men.
'Now in the Enterprize for *Ireland*, to resist those
'Attempts in Being, and the ensuing Provisions a-
'gainst us, let us consider the Certainty of our E-
'state in *Ireland*; We have there an Army, and
'nothing but an Army, fed even out of *Eng-*
'*land*; with what Charge it brings to the Queen,
'what Trouble to the Subject, what Danger it is
'to them there left, if the Provision should fail;
'what Hurt to the Common-Wealth, by making
'Things at a higher Rate than otherwise they
'would be, I refer it to your Wisdoms to imagine.
'Over this, I assure you, it is beyond all Precedent
'and Conjecture: His Presence and Cause of

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'War there, is to defend the Catholic Cause; I 'mean, to tear her Majesty's Subjects from her; 'for, I may say, she hath no Catholic obedient 'Subject there, because she standeth excommuni- 'cate at this present by Force of two Bulls of this '*Pope's*, by which the Subjects are absolved of 'their Obedience. That you do only remember 'you do it *pro Aris et Focis*; yea, we do it for a 'Prince that desireth not to do any thing extra- 'ordinary out of the Coffers of her Subjects. She 'selleth her Land to defend us, she supporteth all 'the neighbouring Princes to gain their Amities 'and establish our long Peace; not these five, 'or seven, or ten Years, but forty three Years, for 'all our Prosperities. I hope I shall not see her 'Funeral, upon which may be written, *Hic solùm 'restat Victrix Orientis*. And I pray God, I may 'not. What we freely give unto her, she, living, 'bestows it to our Good; and dying, doubtless, will 'leave it for our Profit. Thus have I out of mine 'own Genius, for mine own Part, delivered unto 'you what I know. And touching that I have 'spoken in performing your Commandment, I will 'take no Thanks from you for my Pains; for no 'Man cares with less Affection to speak in this 'Assembly, or desireth to gratify any particular 'Member of this House more than myself.'

Mr. *George Moore* moved, 'That whereas the 'Lord-Keeper's Oration was, "That the greatest "Matters should be handled in the Beginning of "the Parliament," a Committee might be chosen 'to certify the House what those Matters were, 'that Order might be taken accordingly.'

On this Motion, a Committee was immmediately appointed, which consisted of all the Privy-Council, being Members of this House, the Knights of the Shires, the Barons of the Cinque Ports, the Knights and Citizens for *London*, *York*, *Norwich*, *Bristol*, *Totnes*, and about forty more, who were ap-

appointed to meet in this House upon *Saturday* next at Two in the Afternoon. Queen Elizabeth 1601.

The House proceeded, the next Day, to regulate Elections and Returns, and ordered another Committee for that Purpose. After which, a Bill for Explanation of such Statutes as regard Leases to be made by Archbishops and Bishops, was read; to which only Mr. *Boise* stood up and said, 'That 'this Act would be prejudicial to the Bishop pre- 'sent and the Successor, to their Servants and to 'the Bishops own Servants and Tenants: To 'the Bishop present, in the Maintenance of his 'Estate, which cometh only by continual Fines; 'which if they be taken away, then are they not 'able to maintain that Hospitality, and keep that 'Retinue either belonging to their Place or an- 'swerable to their Living. For, consider the Re- 'venue of the greatest Bishoprick in *England*, it is 'but 2200*l.* whereof he payeth, for annual Sub- 'sidies, to the Queen 500*l.* And what Damage 'we shall do both to him and his Successor herein, 'his Revenue being so beneficial to her Majesty, I 'refer to all your Judgments. A Bill relating to Bishop's Leases.

'To the Successor it must needs be more hurt- 'ful; for when he first cometh in, he payeth 'First-fruits, and yet is not allowed to make his 'Benefit by Fines, which all Bishops Farmers are 'content to do; so that he is cast one whole an- 'nual Value behind Hand, and perhaps hath no 'Power neither to make Leases in twelve or six- 'teen Years. This, Mr. Speaker, will induce 'the Ministers of the Word not to seek Bishop- 'ricks, whereby we may bring the Clergy both to 'Poverty and Contempt; from which they have 'ever been carefully defended and provided for, 'even by the most antient Statutes and Laws of 'this Land now extant.

'Hurtful it is to their Servants, for this may be 'every Man's Case. We know very many good 'Gentlemen's Sons serve Bishops, and how can 'they reward their long and faithful Services, but 'only by Means of granting over of these Fines

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'or some other Means out of their spiritual Function? But this Act is good for the Courtier; and 'I may speak no more of that Point.

'Lastly, Mr. Speaker, I myself am Farmer 'to a Bishop, and I speak this as in my own Case '(on my Knowledge) to the House, that it is ordinary upon every Grant after four or five Years, 'ever to fine and take a new Lease, but I refer it 'to the Consideration of the House, to do their 'Pleasures therein: Only this I can certify, That 'I have the Copy of the Bill the last Parliament 'exhibited to this Purpose, which I having conferr'd together with the present Bill, do find 'them to be, Word for Word, all one; and the 'last was rejected.' Whereupon this was also rejected.

November 5th, the famous Mr. *Francis Bacon*, so often mentioned before, stood up to make a Motion, and on the offering of a Bill spoke thus:

Another for suppressing Abuses in Weights and Measures.

Mr. Speaker, 'I am not of their Mind that 'bring their Bills into this House obscurely, by 'Delivery only to yourself or to the Clerk, delighting to have the Bill to be *incerto Authore*, as 'though they were either ashamed of their own 'Work, or afraid to father their own Children; 'But I, Mr. Speaker, have a Bill here, which, I 'know, I shall no sooner be ready to offer, but 'you will be ready to receive and approve. I liken 'this Bill to that Sentence of the Poet, who set 'this as a Paradox in the Fore-front of his Book, '*First Water, then Gold*, preferring Necessity before Pleasure. And I am of the same Opinion, 'that Things necessary in Use, are better than 'those Things which are glorious in Estimation. 'This, Mr. Speaker, is no Bill of State nor of 'Novelty, like a stately Gallery for Pleasure, but 'neither to dine in nor sleep in; but this Bill is a 'Bill of Repose, of Quiet, of Profit, of true 'and just Dealings; the Title whereof is, *An Act 'for the better Suppressing of Abuses in Weights and 'Measures.*

'We have turned out divers Bills without Dif- Queen Elizabeth. 1601.
'putation: And for a Houſe of Wiſdom and Gra-
'vity as this is, to bandy Bills like Balls, and to
'be ſilent as if no Body were of Counſel with the
'Common-Wealth, is unfitting in my Underſtand-
'ing for the State thereof. I'll tell you, Mr. Speak-
'er, out of mine own Experience, that I have
'learned and obſerved, having had Cauſes of this
'Nature referred to my Report: That this Fault
'of uſing falſe Weights and Meaſures, is grown ſo
'intolerable and common, that if you would build
'Churches, you ſhall not need, for Battlements
'and Bells, other than falſe Weights of Lead and
'Braſs. And becauſe I would obſerve the Advice
'given in the Beginning of this Parliament, that
'we ſhould make no new Laws; I have only made
'this Bill a Confirmation of the Statute of the
'11th of *Henry* VIIth. with a few Additions, to
'which I will ſpeak at the paſſing of the Bill, and
'ſhew the Reaſons of every particular Clauſe, the
'whole being a Revival of a former Statute: For
'I take it far better to ſcowr a Stream, than to
'turn a Stream. And the firſt Clauſe is, That it
'is to extend to the Principality of *Wales*; to con-
'ſtrain them to have the like Meaſures and Weights
'to us in *England*.'

Then Sir *Robert Cecil* moved the Houſe, 'To
'have their Opinions, in that there wanted a chief Debate on the Manner of iſſuing Writs for Elections.
'Member, *viz.* a Knight of *Denbighshire*. And
'he ſaid, I am to certify the Houſe thus much, in
'reſpect of ſome Diſorder committed there, touch-
'ing the Election, by Sir *Richard Trevor* and Sir
'*John Fludd*, to which Sir *John Salisbury* is a Par-
'ty, the Sheriff could not proceed in Election.
'For mine own Part, I think it fit that Mr. Speak-
'er ſhould *attend* my Lord Keeper therein. And
'then produced a Letter from the Sheriff, that
'there happening a great Riot and Diſturbance on
'the County-Court-Day, he had it not in his
'Power to execute the Writ.'

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To which Sir. *Edward Hobby* answered, 'Methinks under Favour, the Motion Mr. Secretary 'made is good, but the Form therein (I speak with 'all Reverence) not fitting the State of this House. 'For, he said, Mr. Speaker shall attend my Lord 'Keeper. *Attend?* It is well known that the 'Speaker of the House is the Mouth of the whole 'Realm; and that the whole State of the Commonalty of a Kingdom should attend one Person; I see no Reason. I refer it to the Consideration of the House: Only this Proposition I hold, 'That our Speaker is to be commanded by none, 'neither to attend any, but the Queen only.'

Mr. *Johnson* said, 'The Speaker might *ex Officio* send a Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown 'who is to certify the Lord Keeper, and so to 'make a new Warrant.'

Sir *Edward Hobby* said, 'That for Election of 'Burgesses, he had seen half a Score Yesterday 'with Sir *John Puckering's* Hand, when he was 'Speaker.'

Mr. Speaker said, 'I may inform you of the 'Order of the House, That a Warrant must go 'from the Speaker to the Clerk of the Crown, 'who is to inform the Lord Keeper, and then to 'make a new Writ.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil* said, 'I should be very sorry 'to detract from any particular Member of this 'House, much more from the general State; my 'Meaning was mistaken, and my Words misconstrued.'

On the Supply.

On the 7th of *November* in the Afternoon, the Committee on the Subsidy sat in the House; when Sir *Walter Raleigh* moved the House, 'To consider to what Intent they came together, and now 'in their Coming what was to be considered. For 'the Subsidy and the Manner and Quality thereof, 'I will now only intimate thus much unto you: 'That the last Parliament, only three Subsidies 'were granted, upon Fear that the *Spaniards* were 'coming; but we see now they are come, and

'have

'have set Foot even in the Queen's Territories already, and therefore are the more of us to be respected and regarded. And seeing the Sale of her Highness's own Jewels, the great Loans the Subjects have lent her, yet unpaid, the continual Selling of her Lands and Decaying of her Revenues, the Sparing ever out of her own Purse and Apparel for our Sakes will not serve, but yet she must be fain to call her Court of Parliament for our Advice and Aid in this Case; I wish for my own Part (as a particular Member of this Common-Wealth) that we may not do less than we did before; and that we also would bountifully, according to our Estates, contribute to the Necessity of her Majesty, as now it standeth.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. *Wiseman*. 'Her Majesty hath spent so much, that now she is fain to desire the Help of her Subjects: Let us draw to some Head, and leave our Orations and Speeches. We are to consider only what is fit to be given; and as for my Part, as a poor Member and one of the meanest in this House, I will be bold to deliver mine Opinion first, because some must break the Ice. Three Pound Land and under to pay 2*s*. 8*d*. in the Pound, and Five Pound Goods and under to pay 1*s*. 8*d*. in the Pound, and double Tenths and Fifteenths as soon as may be. Although I may seem over bold, being but a Rural and Countryman, to speak even out of my Element in this Case; yet I do heartily crave Pardon of all, beseeching that neither my Unaptness or Disorder of Speech, nor the Unworthiness of my Person may prejudice the Cause.'

Sir *Robert Wroth*. 'That four Pound Land full Subsidy, and six Pound Goods full Subsidy might be paid to her Majesty.'

Sir *Francis Hastings* moved, 'That Three Pound Men might be exempted, and all others above that Rate to pay according to the Rate to make up a full Subsidy.'

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Mr. *Philipps* moved, 'That the Four Pound 'Men might be exempted, and four Subſidies re- 'ceived from the Rich, which ſhould be termed a 'Contribution, becauſe it might make no In- 'novation.'

Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaid, 'If all pay alike, none 'will be aggrieved; if any be exempted, doubtleſs, 'it will breed much Grief, and the Feeling will be 'great to thoſe Three Pound Men that will feel 'any Thing, but it will be nothing to them that 'know any Thing.'

Sir *Edward Hobby* ſaid, 'We cannot hear you, 'ſpeak out, you ſhould ſpeak ſtanding, that ſo the 'Houſe might the better hear you.' So Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaid, 'That being a Committee, he might 'ſpeak either ſitting or ſtanding, and ſo repeated 'over again the former Speech.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil* ſaid, 'Becauſe it is an Ar- 'gument of more Reverence, I chuſe to ſpeak 'ſtanding, As long as the Queen by the Advice 'of her Council did find Means to ſpare you, ſo 'long ſhe ever deſired that her Subjects might not 'be charged: But if her Majeſty, as ſoon as the 'laſt Subſidy had been ſpent, ſhould have again re- 'ſorted unto you, I do aſſure you, this Parliament had been called in *October* laſt. Now if upon Providence and Foreſight, you did contribute un- to her Majeſty; much more ſhould we now do 'the ſame, ſeeing a reſolute Company of Soldiers 'have intrenched themſelves in her Majeſty's King- 'dom of *Ireland*, and more Supplies thither are 'daily expected. It is Time to open our Coffers, 'that we may obviate, in the Beginning, theſe few 'Forces of the *Spaniards*, leſt growing to greater 'Forces we cannot expel them with leſs than '500,000*l.* which we may now do with 100,000 'in preſent. If there be any that ſits next the 'Door that deſires to ſit next the Chair to give his 'Opinion, I will not alſo give him my Place, 'but thank him to take my Charge.

'(This

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'(This was conceived to be Sir *Edward Hobby*, who coming to ſit near the Chair, and not giving him Place, ſate next the Door.')

'We that ſit here, for my Part, take your Favours out of Courteſy, not out of Duty;——but to the Purpoſe. The Queen hath occaſion to uſe, as divers in this Houſe do know, 300,000*l.* before *Eaſter*; how this ſhall be raiſed and gathered, that is the Queſtion; for without this Proportion of Charge, neither the *Spaniards* in *Ireland* can be repell'd, and the Wars there maintained, neither her Majeſty's other Affairs be ſet on Foot, neither Proviſion ſufficient can be ſet on Foot, or made for Defence from foreign Invaſions. Admit with a leſs Charge we ſhould now expel him, Will any Man be ſo ſimple to think he will give over the Enterprize, being of ſo great Conſequence, and grow deſperate? I ſhould think him but a Man of ſhallow Underſtanding and leſs Policy. Surely, if we had been of that Mind when we had that great Overthrow of his invincible Navy in 1588, we had been deſtinated to Perdition. For how many chargeable Enterprizes of puiſſant and great Conſequence hath he ſince made? The like, if his Forces in *Ireland* ſhould now fail, would he do again. And therefore that Proviſion we now make, if he ſhould be expell'd with a leſs Matter, would ſerve to make Defence againſt his next Invaſion of that Kingdom; as alſo, enrich her Majeſty to be ready to furniſh her Navy and Forces the ſpeedier for her Safety. Beſides, if he beſtow ſuch Maſſes of Treaſure for the gaining of one poor Town, *Oſtend*, what will he do to gain ſo ſtrong and famous a Kingdom as *Ireland*? I will, by the Leave of a worthy Perſon who ſits by me, and knows theſe Things better than I do, yield a particular Account unto you of the State itſelf. Firſt, The laſt whole Subſidy after the Rate of Four Pound Lands, and Eight Groats Goods, came not to above 80,000*l.* the Subſidy of the Clergy 20,000*l.* the double Fifteenths 60,000*l.* All

'which

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'which is 160,000*l.* Since my Lord of *Essex's* 'going into *Ireland*, she hath spent 300,000*l.* 'So the Queen is behind 140,000*l.* Thus we 'refer the Matter to your judicious Consideration: 'We only shew you the present State of the Queen 'and her Affairs, wishing no Man to look that 'we should give Advice what is to be done, as 'though you yourselves, who are the Wisdom of 'the Land, could neither direct yourselves, nor 'upon these Reasons alledged, judge the Necessity 'of the State.'

Mr. Comptroller Sir *John Fortescue*, and Secretary *Herbert*, spake all to the like Effect; only, Sir *John Fortescue* added this, 'That what pleased 'the House, in the Name of the *Subsidy*, to bestow 'the same, Her Majesty did and would ever em-'ploy to their Uses; so that dying, it might be 'written on her Tomb, *Quod occupatus vixit*, so 'that she dying, liveth still, employing all to the 'Safety of her Subjects. And I beseech you re-'member, that the Great-*Turk* when he con-'quered *Constantinople*, found therein three Hun-'dred Millions of Gold: If they, quoth he, had 'bestowed three Millions in Defence of their City, 'he could never have gotten it. From this Blind-'ness, I pray God defend us, that we may not be 'backward to give four Subsidies to her Majesty, 'for Want whereof in Time, we may happen to 'lose that which will not be recovered or de-'fended with a Hundred.'

After which it was agreed by general Consent, the Three Pound Men to be included.

A Bill to repress the Multitude of common Sollicitors.

The 9th of the same Month, *Heywood Townshend*, Esq; Author of the Book already mentioned, in preferring a Bill against the Multitude of common Sollicitors, spoke as follows.

Mr. Speaker, 'It is well said by a worthy Mem-'ber of this House, Mr. *Francis Bacon*, that every 'Man is bound to help the Common-Wealth the 'best he may; much more is every Man in his 'par-

particular Bound, being a Member of this House if he knew any dangerous Enormity towards the Common-Wealth, not only to open it, but, if it may be, oppose it. We being all here within these Walls together, may be likened to a Jury close shut up in a Chamber; every Man there upon his Oath, and every Man here upon his Conscience, being the Grand-Jurymen of the Land, bound to deal both truly and plainly. Herewith (though a most unworthy and least sufficient Member of this House) myself being touched, I had rather adventure my Credit by speaking, though confusedly, than to stretch my Conscience (knowing so great a Mischief and Inconvenience unto this Kingdom) by Silence in so pleasing a Cause, as I do persuade myself this Bill will be to every Man that hears it. To which Mr. Speaker, because I may have Benefit of Speech if Occasion serve, at the second Reading thereof, I will not speak more at this present, but only touching the very Tract of the Bill itself. The honourable Personage, that in the Upper House in the Beginning of this Parliament, spake against the lewd Abuses of prolling Sollicitors and their great Multitude, who set Dissension betwixt Man and Man, like a Snake cut in Pieces, crawl together to join themselves again to stir up evil Spirits of Dissension: He, I say, advised us, that a Law might be made to repress them. I have observed that no Man in this Parliament ever offered to prefer any such Bill to this House; but, sure I am, no Man spake to this Purpose. I have therefore, Mr. Speaker, presumed out of my young Experience, because I know Part of their Abuses, and with that small Portion of Learning that I have, to draw a Bill, and here it is. The Title is thus: *An Act to repress the Multitude of Common Sollicitors.* The Body of the Act disableth all Persons to solicit any Cause other than their own. There are excepted and fore-prized four several Sorts, Lawyers and Attornies in their own Courts; where

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'where they be ſworn Servants in Livery, and 'Kinſmen with the fourth Degree of Conſanguinity. And no Man within this Kingdom but 'may find a fitting and convenient Sollicitor within 'theſe four Degrees. And I humbly pray, it 'being ſo ſhort, that the Bill may be read and 'received.'

Debate on the Supply renewed.

On the ſame Day the Affair of the Supply was again before the Houſe; and Mr. Secretary *Cecil* began firſt, and ſaid,

'When it was the good Pleaſure of this Houſe 'to give Order to the Committees to conſider 'the common Danger of this Realm, in which not 'only every Member of this Houſe, but every 'Man in the Kingdom is intereſted, it liked the 'Committees after their Reſolution to chuſe one 'among all to give Account of their Proceedings, and that is myſelf. I do know, it were the 'ſafeſt Way for a Man's Memory, to deliver the 'laſt Reſolution without any precedent Argument; 'for rare is the Aſſembly in which there is not 'ſome Variety of Opinions. And I am of Opinion, if we had all agreed upon the Manner, as 'we did ſpeedily upon the Matter, all had been 'diſpatch'd in an Hour. It ſeemed by the ready 'Conſent of the Committees, that they came not 'to look on one another, or like Sheep to accompany one another; but the Matter was well declared by ſome, and at length conſented unto by 'all. Our Contention bred Difference, and Difference Cauſe of Argument, both how to eaſe 'the State, and make this Subſidy leſs burthenſome 'which ſhall be received. Some were of Opinion, 'that the Three Pound Men ſhould be ſpared, 'becauſe it was to be conſidered they had but ſmall 'Portions. Others were of Opinion, that the 'Four Pound Men ſhould give double, and the reſt 'upwards ſhould be higher 'ſeſſed. Others were 'of other Opinions. Again it was moved, whether this Subſidy ſhould go in the Name of a 'Benevolence or Contribution, or whether in the 'Name

'Name of a Fourth Subsidy; but at length most Queen Elizabeth. 1601.
'Voices resolved it should have the old Name of a
'Subsidy, because *Subsidium* and *Auxilium* are all
'one. The most Voices concluded, That there
'should be no Exception of the Three Pound
'Men, because according to their Rate some were
''sessed under Value; besides, Separation might
'breed Emulation, Suspicion of Partiality and
'Confusion. And the whole Realm, when each
'Man comes into his Country, will be better satis-
'fied, when they shall know they have spared no
'Man, nor made any Disjunction. It was said
'by a Member of the House, that he knew some
'poor People pawn'd their Pots and Pans to pay
'the Subsidy. It may be you dwell where you
'see and hear; I dwell where I hear and believe.
'And, this I know, that neither Pot nor Pan, nor
'Dish nor Spoon should be spared when Danger
'is at our Elbows. But he that spake this, in my
'Conscience, spake it not to hinder the Subsidy, or
'the Greatness of the Gift, but to shew the Poverty
'of some 'sessed, and by sparing them to yield
'them Relief. But, by no Means, I would have
'Three Pound Men exempted, because I do wish,
'the King of *Spain* might know, how willing we
'are to sell all in Defence of God's Religion, our
'Prince and Country.

'I have read when *Hannibal* resolved to sack
'*Rome*, he dwelt in the Cities adjoining, and
'never feared or doubted of his Enterprize, 'till
'Word was brought him that the Maidens, Ladies
'and Women of *Rome* sold their Ear-Earings, Jew-
'els and all their Necessaries to maintain War
'against him. I do take myself in Duty bound
'to acquaint this House with the Modesty of the
'Committee at the Proposition; that where first
'this House never struck to commit it, they never
'struck (understanding the Reasons) to grant it.'

Then was a Motion made by Sir *Robert Wroth*,
'That this new Subsidy might be drawn in a Bill
'by itself, to which should be annex'd a Preamble
'of

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'of the great Neceſſities, the Willingneſs of the 'Subject, and that it might be *no Precedent*; but 'that would *not* be yielded unto.'

Mr. *Francis Moore* moved that, 'That which 'was done might be compleatly done, and the 'Subſidy gathered by Commiſſion, and not by the 'old Roll; for peradventure ſome were dead, 'others fallen to Poverty, others richer, and ſo 'deſerved to be enhanced, *&c.* And withal he 'ſaid, that the Granting of this Subſidy ſeemed to 'be the *Alpha* and *Omega* of this Parliament.' (*i*)

Mr. *Wingfield* moved the honourable of the Council, Members of this Houſe, 'That ſeeing 'the Subſidy was granted, and they yet had done 'nothing, it would pleaſe her Majeſty not to diſ-'ſolve the Parliament till ſome Acts were paſſed.'

Mr. *Francis Bacon*, 'After a Repetition that the 'Three Pound Men might not be excluded, con-'cluded, that it was *Dulcis Tractus pari Jugo*, there-'fore the Poor as well as the Rich not to be ex-'empted.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaid, 'I like not that the *Spa-'niards*, our Enemies, ſhould know of our Selling 'our Pots and Pans to pay Subſidies; well may 'you call it Policy, as an Honourable Perſon al-'ledged, but, I am ſure, it argues Poverty in the 'State. And for the Motion that was laſt made, 'of *Dulcis Tractus pari Jugo*, call you this *par 'Jugum*, when a poor Man pays as much as a rich, 'and peradventure his Eſtate is no better than he is 'ſet at, or but little better; when our Eſtates 'that be thirty Pounds or forty Pounds in the 'Queen's Books, are not the hundred Part of our 'Wealth? Therefore it is not *Dulcis* nor *pari*.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. 'That for what the 'Gentleman ſaid, "That the Subſidy was the "*Alpha* and *Omega* of this Parliament:" I think 'he

(*i*) Author of the *Report*.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'he ſpoke it not ſimply out of Humour, but rather upon Probability: For, I can aſſure you, 'her Majeſty is as reſpective over you touching 'her Laws, which ſhe deſireth may be peruſed 'and amended, that ſhe meaneth not to diſſolve 'this Parliament 'till ſome Things be amended. 'For that, that I ſaid, touching the *Spaniards* 'knowing of our Sale of our Pots and Pans, and 'all we have, to keep him out, which ſhould 'be a Matter of Policy, to which the Gentleman '(Sir *Walter Raleigh*) took Exceptions; I ſay, It 'is true, and yet I am miſtaken. I ſay, it is good 'the *Spaniards* ſhould know how willing we are 'to ſell our Pots and Pans and all we have to 'keep him out: Yet I do not ſay, it is good he 'ſhould know we do ſell them. That is, I would 'have him know our Willingneſs to ſell, (though 'there be no Need) but not of our Poverty in Selling, or of any Neceſſity we have to ſell them, 'which I think none will do, neither ſhall need to 'do.' Then all the Houſe cried, *No*, *No*; as much as to ſay, no Man did ſo.

Sir *Arthur Gorge* moved, 'That it would 'pleaſe the Council, that Order might be taken 'that Juſtices of the Peace might be 'ſeſſed accord-'ing to the Statute, *viz.* at Twenty Pound Lands, 'whereas there be few Juſtices that be above 'Eight or Ten Pounds.'

Then Serjeant *Heyle*. 'Mr. Speaker, I marvel 'much that the Houſe will ſtand upon granting of 'a Subſidy, or the Time of Payment, when all 'we have is her Majeſty's; and ſhe may lawfully, 'at her Pleaſure, take it from us. Yea, ſhe hath '*as much Right to all our Lands and Goods, as to* '*any Revenue of her Crown.*' At which all the Houſe hemm'd, and laughed and talked.' 'Well, 'quoth Serjeant *Heyle*, all your Hemming ſhall 'not put me out of Countenance.' So Mr. Speaker ſtood up and ſaid, 'It is a great Diſorder that 'this ſhould be uſed; for it is the antient Uſe of 'every Man to be ſilent when any one ſpeaketh; 'and he that is ſpeaking ſhould be ſuffered to de-'liver

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'liver his Mind without Interruption.' So the Serjeant proceeded, and when he had ſpoken a little while, the Houſe hemm'd again, and ſo he ſat down. In his latter Speech he ſaid, 'He 'could prove his former Poſition by Precedent in 'the Times of *Henry* III. King *John*, King '*Stephen*, &c.' which was the Occaſion of their Hemming.

Mr. *Montague* ſaid *, 'That there were no ſuch 'Precedents; and if all Preambles of Subſidies 'were looked upon, he ſhould find it it were of Free 'Gift. And although her Majeſty requireth this 'at our Hands, yet it is in *us* to *give*, not in *her* 'to *exact* of Duty. And for the Precedents there 'be none ſuch, but touching a Tenth Fleece of 'Wool, and a Tenth Sheaf of Corn that was 'granted to *Edward* III. at his going to the 'Conqueſt of *France*; becauſe all the Money, then 'in the Land to be levied by way of Subſidy, 'would not be any way anſwerable to raiſe that 'great Maſs he deſired. And ſo, having theſe '*Tenths*, he ſold them to private Men to gain that '*Subſidy*, and ſo raiſed Money to himſelf for his 'Enterprize.' (*k*)

November 16. A Bill for redreſſing certain Inconveniences in the Statute of 21 *Hen.* VIII. *Chap.* 13. intitled, *An Act againſt Pluralities of Benefices for taking of Farms by Spiritual Men, and for Reſidence*, was read the ſecond Time.

Bill againſt Pluralities of Benefices.

Mr. *Dunn* ſaid, 'It was no Reaſon that Men of 'unequal Deſert ſhould be equally beneficed, or 'equalized with the beſt.'

Dr. *Crompton* wiſhed 'That Pluralities of Offi-'ces might be be taken from the Laity, and then 'Pluralities of Benefices from the Spirituality. Al-'ſo in former Ages, he ſaid, Impropriations were 'given to the Spirituality, and then no Pluralities 'allowed; as alſo Spiritual Men bound by Eccle-'ſiaſtical Canons of their own from Marriage, ſo 'that they might live with far leſs Charge than 'now

* Afterwards Lord *C. J. B. R.* Lord Treaſurer Baron of *Kimbolton*, Viſcount *Mandeville*, and Earl of *Manchester*. See V. V. p. 381. Alſo Vol. VIII. p. 53.

(*k*) See Vol. I. pag. 330.

'now they do. But having taken from them first the Impropriations, they cannot keep that 'Hospitality which is required. And next, Marriage being tolerated among them, they living at 'great Charge both of Wife and Children, one 'Benefice of small Cure sufficeth not.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Sir *George Moor* 'Thought the Bill most fit 'to be committed, it being, in the general Opinion, a good Law, and tending to a good and a religious End, and such is the Iniquity of this Age, 'that for Want of a good Law of this Nature, 'many Souls do not only languish but perish everlastingly, for Want of Spiritual Food.'

Mr. *Lock*. 'I think bare Silence is not an Exoneration of a Man's Conscience: The Similitude of Offices and Benefices, made by the Doctor, doth not hold, under Favour; for *Non est incipiendum cum Laicis, sed incipiendum à Domo Dei:* Therefore if they begin first, we shall follow in avoiding Pluralities.'

Dr. *James*. 'That it had been said, That Pluralities were the Cause of bringing Corruption into the Church; but for that, under Favour, said 'he, I think the contrary, because Corruption is 'commonly where Poverty is; but if competent 'Living be given to the Minister, I see no Reason 'why just Men should judge there to be Corruption. Secondly, It was said, That it would be 'a Means of preaching the Word; for that I answer, That if Hope of competent Living be 'taken away, it will be a Means to make the best 'Wits refuse the Study of Divinity. And therefore an Historian saith well, that *Sublatis Præmiis corruunt Artes*. Consider besides, that in '*England* there are above eight thousand eight 'hundred and odd Parish-Churches; six hundred 'of which do but afford competent Living for a 'Minister: What then shall become of the Multitude of our learned Men? They have no other 'Preferments unless it be to get some Deanery, 'Prebend, or such like, which is no easy Matter to do, they being so few, especially in this

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'catching Age. To give the beſt Scholar but as 'great Proportion as the meaneſt Artiſan, or to give 'all alike, there is no Equality; for *Inæqualibus 'æqualia dare abſurdum.* And this will breed Po- 'verty in the greateſt Learned, which is the 'Mother of Contempt, a Thing both dangerous 'and odious unto Divinity: This muſt needs en- 'force Preachers to preach *placentia*; which is a 'Thing abhorr'd even of God himſelf. A Preach- 'er, who is no ordinary Perſon, ought to have an 'extraordinary Reward; for the Canon ſaith, he 'muſt be *ad minimum Artium Magiſter, aut publi- 'cus aut idoneus Verbi Divini Concionator.*'

Mr. *David Waterhouſe.* 'Becauſe myſelf am 'an Officer, I mean only to ſpeak of the Doctor's 'Similitude of Pluralities of Offices. By the 'Common Law, an Officer ſhall forfeit his Office 'for Non-Attendance; ſo for a Benefice the In- 'cumbent ſhall alſo forfeit. But after the Sta- 'tute came which made this Toleration upon 'eighteen Days Abſence: So that now, if we ſet 'this Statute at Liberty again, this ſhall be no In- 'novation in us, but a Renovation of the Com- 'mon Law. And I wil end only with this Cau- 'tion to the Houſe, That commonly the moſt ig- 'norant Divines of this Land be double beneficed.'

Serjeant *Harris.* 'We ſeem to defend the Pri- 'vileges and Cuſtoms of the Houſe, but if we pro- 'ceed to determine of this Bill, Mr. Speaker, we 'ſhall not only infringe a Cuſtom which we have 'ever obſerved, *viz.* to meddle with no Matter 'that toucheth her Majeſty's Prerogative; but 'alſo procure her great Diſpleaſure. Admit we 'ſhould determine of this Matter, yet her Ma- 'jeſty may grant Toleration with a *Non obſtante.* 'And, Mr. Speaker, the laſt Parliament may be a 'Warning to us when the like Bill by us was pre- 'fer'd, and the ſame not only rejected, but alſo her 'Majeſty commanded the Lord Keeper to tell us, 'That ſhe hoped we would not hereafter meddle 'in Caſes of this Nature ſo nearly touching her 'Prerogative Royal.'

Mr.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. *Martin*. 'I agree with one that said, Learning should have her Reward; but I say more, That our Souls should have their Spiritual Food.'

Mr. *Francis Hastings*. 'I protest that which I shall speak, I will utter to you all, out of the Conscience of a Christian, Loyalty of a Subject, and Heart of an *Englishman*. I know that *Distributio Parochiarum est ex Jure Humano, non Divino*. But he that said so much, give me Leave to tell him, That *Distributio Verbi Divini est ex Jure Divino et Humano*. If then by the distributing and severing of Benefices to divers learned Men, the Word may be the better distributed unto the People, and preached as, God be thanked, it hath been these forty-three Years, under her Majesty's happy Government (the Point of whose Days, I beseech the Almighty, may be prolonged;) I see no Reason, Mr. Speaker, why we should doubt of the Goodness of this Bill, or make any Question of the Committing thereof, &c.'

Mr. *Roger Owen* shewed, 'That a Statute was but *Privatio communis Juris*: And this Act will make no Innovation, because it repeals only the Proviso, and not the Body. Whereas it was said that *Honos alit Artes*, and much more to that Purpose: and if you take away the Honour and Reward, then you take away the Study itself. For Answer thereunto, Mr. Speaker, I say, under Favour, that this Statute takes away no Benefices from the Clergy, but doth only better order the Distribution of Benefices among the Clergy. For another Doctor that alledged a Canon confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*, I say, under Favour, that they of the Clergy, and not we of the Laity, are bound thereby; for they are, as it were, Bye-Laws to them, but not to us.' After which it was committed.

November 17. An Act to suppress the Sin of Adultery was read the first Time. The Substance where of was, that if a Woman or Man, or both, were convicted of Adultery, he should lose his Tenancy by Courtesie, and she her Tenancy in Dower.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Bill for punishing Adultery.

Serjeant *Harris*. 'Mr. Speaker, by the Scope 'of this Bill, the Determination of this Fact must 'be by two or three blind Witnesses, in the Eccle- 'siastical Court; which is no Reason that Judges 'Ecclesiastical should determine of Laymen's In- 'heritances. Besides, there is another gross Fault 'in the Bill, for if they be both Poor, and have no- 'thing but Goods, if the Man be taken in Adulte- 'ry, he shall not be punished, because there is no- 'thing of which he should be Tenant by the Cour- 'tesie. But if the Woman be taken, she is to lose 'the Third of the Goods; or if it be in the City, 'by Custom, she loseth the Half, which is *Jus in-* '*æquale*, and not to be admitted by this House.' Then all the House cried, *Away with it*.

Debate on a Bill against Monopolies.

On the 20th of *November*, the Grand Affair of Monopolies began in this House. It was first brought in by Mr. *Laurence Hide*, and was then intituled, *An Act for the Explanation of the Common Law in certain Cases of Letters Patents*. After it was read, the Question was to be put for the committing of it; and some crying out, *Commit it*, some *Ingross it*, a great Debate arose. When Mr. *Spicer*, Burgess for *Warwick*, said, 'Mr. Speaker, 'this Assembly may be said to be *libera Mens et li-* '*bera Lingua*, therefore freely and faithfully, that 'which I know I will speak to this House. This 'Bill may touch the Prerogative Royal, which, as 'I learned the last Parliament, is so transcendent, 'that the ..... of the Subject may 'not aspire thereunto. Far be it therefore from 'me, that the State and Prerogative Royal of the 'Prince should be tied by me or by the Act of any 'other Subject. First, Let us consider of the 'Word *Monopoly*, what it is, Μόνος is *Unus*, and 'Πώλις is *Civitas* (*m*); so then the Meaning of the 'Word is, a Restraint of any Thing publick in a 'City

(*m*) This Gentleman seems to have more honest Zeal than Learning. The proper Derivation of the Word being from Μόνος, *solus*, and πωλέω, *vendo*.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'City or Common-Wealth to a private Use, and the 'User called a Monopolitan, *quasi cujus privatum 'Lucrum est Urbis et Orbis commune Malum.* And 'we may well term this Man the Whirlpool of the 'Prince's Profit. Every Man hath three special 'Friends, his Goods, Kinsfolks, and good Name: 'These Men may have the two first, but not the 'last. I speak not, Mr. Speaker, neither repining 'at her Majesty's Prerogative, or misliking the 'Reasons of her Grants, but out of Grief of Heart 'to see the Town, wherein I serve, pestered and 'continually vex'd by the Substitutes and Vice-'gerents of these Monopolitans, who are ever ill-'disposed and affected Members. I beseech you, 'give me Leave to prove this unto you by this Ar-'gument. Whosoever transgresseth the Royal 'Commission of her Majesty, being granted upon 'good and warrantable Suggestions, and also abus-'eth the Authority and Warrant of her Majesty's 'Privy-Council, being granted unto him for the 'more favourable Execution of his Patent: This 'Man is an evil-disposed and dangerous Subject. 'But that this is true, and hath been done by one 'Person, a Substitute of a Patentee, I will prove 'unto you. The Substitutes for Aquavitæ and 'Vinegar came not long since to the Town where 'I serve, and presently stayed Sale of both these 'Commodities; unless the Sellers would com-'pound with them, they must presently to the 'Council-Table. Myself, though ignorant, yet 'not so unskilful, by reason of my Profession, but 'that I could judge whether their Proceedings 'were according to their Authority, viewed their 'Patent, and found they exceeded in three Points: 'For where the Patent gives four Months Liber-'ty to the Subject, that hath any Aquavitæ, to sell 'the same, this Person comes down within two 'Months and takes Bond of them to his own Use, 'where he ought to bring them before a Justice 'of Peace, and they there to be bound in Recog-'nizance, and after to be returned into the Ex-'chequer; and so, by Usurpation, retaineth Power 'in his own Hands to kill or save. Thus her

Queen Elizabeth 1601.

'Majesty's Commission being transgressed, as a 'sworn Servant to her Majesty, I hold myself 'bound to certify the House thereof; and also 'that this Substitute stands indicted as an obstinate 'Recusant: Yea, when her Majesty's Name hath 'been spoken of, and herself prayed for, he hath 'refused to stir Hat or Lip. My humble Motion is, 'that we might use some Caution or circumspective Care to prevent this ensuing Mischief.'

Mr. *Francis Bacon*. 'I confess the Bill, as it is, is 'in few Words, but yet ponderous and weighty. 'For the Prerogative Royal of the Prince, for my 'own Part I ever allowed of it, and it is such as I 'hope shall never be discuss'd. The Queen, as 'she is our Sovereign, hath both an enlarging and 'restraining Power. For, by her Prerogative, she 'may first set at Liberty Things restrained by Statute-Law, or otherwise; and secondly, by her 'Prerogative, she may restrain Things which be 'at Liberty. For the first, she may grant *Non obstante* contrary to the Penal Laws, which truly, 'according to my own Conscience, [and so struck 'himself on the Breast] are as hateful to the Subject as Monopolies. For the second, if any Man, 'out of his own Wit, Industry, or Endeavour, 'finds out any thing beneficial for the Common-Wealth, or bring any new Invention, which every Subject of this Kingdom may use; yet in 'regard of his Pains and Travel therein, her Majesty, perhaps, is pleased to grant him a Privilege to 'use the same only by himself or his Deputies for 'a certain Time. This is one Kind of Monopoly. 'Sometimes there is a Glut of Things when they 'be in excessive Quantity, as perhaps of Corn, 'and her Majesty gives Licence of Transportation 'to one Man; this is another Kind of Monopoly. 'Sometimes there is a Scarcity or a small Quantity, and the like is granted also. These and divers of this Nature have been in Trial, both at 'the Common-Pleas, upon Actions of Trespass, 'where, if the Judges do find the Privilege good, 'and beneficial to the Common-Wealth, they then

'will

'will allow it, otherwiſe diſallow it. And alſo I know that her Majeſty herſelf hath given Commandment to her Attorney-General, to bring divers of them, ſince the laſt Parliament, to Trial in the Exchequer; ſince which Time at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen, to my Knowledge, have been repealed; ſome by her Majeſty's own expreſs Commandment, upon Complaint made unto her by Petition, and ſome by *Quo Warranto* in the Exchequer. But Mr. Speaker, ſaid he, [pointing to the Bill] this is no Stranger in this Place, but a Stranger in this Veſtment: The Uſe hath been ever to humble ourſelves unto her Majeſty, and by Petition deſire to have our Grievances remedied, eſpecially when the Remedy toucheth her ſo nigh in Point of Prerogative. All cannot be done at once, neither was it poſſible ſince the laſt Parliament to repeal all. If her Majeſty make a Patent (or, as we term it, a Monopoly) unto any of her Servants, that muſt go, and we cry out of it: But if ſhe grant it to a Number of Burgeſſes, or a Corporation, that muſt ſtand, and that forſooth is no Monopoly. I ſay, and I ſay again, that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her Majeſty's Prerogative. I wiſh every Man therefore to be careful in this Buſineſs; and humbly pray this Houſe to teſtify with me, that I, the Queen's Attorney-General, have diſcharged my Duty, in reſpect of my Place, in ſpeaking on her Majeſty's Behalf; and and proteſt I have delivered my Conſcience in ſaying that which I have ſaid.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Dr. *Bennet*. 'He that will go about to debate her Majeſty's Prerogative Royal, had need walk warily. In reſpect of a Grievance out of the City, for which I come, I think myſelf bound to ſpeak that now which I had not intended to ſpeak before; I mean a Monopoly of Salt. It is an old Proverb, *Sal ſapit omnia*; Fire and Water are not more neceſſary. But for other Monopolies of Cards, (at which Word Sir *Walter*

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'*Raleigh* bluſh'd) Dice, Starch, and the like; 'they are, (becauſe Monopolies) I muſt confeſs 'very hurtful, tho' not all alike hurtful. I know 'there is a great Difference in them; and I think, 'if the Abuſes in this Monopoly of Salt were par-'ticularized, this would walk in the Fore-Rank. 'Now, ſeeing we are come to the Means of Re-'dreſs, let us ſee that it be ſo mannerly and 'handſomely handled, that after a Commitment, it 'may have good Paſſage.'

Mr. *Lawrence Hide*. 'I confeſs, Mr. Speaker, 'that I owe Duty to God, and Loyalty to my 'Prince. And for the Bill itſelf I made it, and I 'think I underſtand it: And far be it from this 'Heart of mine to think, this Tongue to ſpeak, or 'this Hand to write any thing, either in Prejudice 'or Derogation of her Majeſty's Prerogative Royal 'and the State. But becauſe you ſhall know that 'this Courſe is no new Invention, but long ſince 'digeſted in the Age of our Fore-fathers above 'three hundred Years ago, I will offer to your 'Conſiderations one Precedent 10th *Edward* III. 'At which Time, one *John Peach* was arraigned 'at this Bar in Parliament, for that he had ob-'tained of the King a Monopoly for Sweet Wines. 'The Patent, after great Advice and Diſpute, 'was adjudged void, and, before his Face, in open 'Parliament, cancelled, becauſe he had exacted 'Three Shillings and Four-pence for every Tun 'of Wine; himſelf adjudged to Priſon until he 'had made Reſtitution of all that ever he had reco-'vered, and not to be delivered till after a Fine of 'Five Hundred Pounds paid to the King. This 'is a Precedent worthy of Obſervation; but I dare 'not preſume to ſay, worthy the following. And, 'Mr. Speaker, as I think it is no Derogation to the 'Omnipotence of God, to ſay, he can do all but 'Evil; ſo, I think it is no Derogation to the Ma-'jeſty or Perſon of the Queen, to ſay the like in 'ſome Proportion. Yet, Mr. Speaker, becauſe 'two Eyes may ſee more than one, I humbly pray,

'that

'that there might be a Commitment had of this Bill, leſt ſomething may be therein which may prove the Bane and Overthrow thereof at the Time of the Paſſing.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Serjeant *Harris*. 'For ought I ſee, the Houſe moveth to have this Bill in the Nature of a Petition; it muſt then begin with more Humiliation: And truly Sir, the Bill is good of itſelf, but the Penning of it is ſomewhat out of Courſe.'

Mr. *Montague*. 'The Matter is good and honeſt, and I like this Manner of proceeding by Bill well enough in this Matter. The Grievances are great, and I would note unto you only thus much, that the laſt Parliament we proceeded by Way of Petition, which had no ſucceſsful Effect.'

Mr. *Francis Moore*. 'I know the Queen's Prerogative is a Thing curious to be dealt withal, yet all Grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my Tongue, or conceive with my Heart, the great Grievances that the Town and Country for which I ſerve, ſuffereth by ſome of theſe Monopolies; it bringeth the general Profit into a private Hand, and the End of all is Beggary and Bondage to the Subjects. We have a Law for the true and faithful Currying of Leather; there is a Patent ſets all at Liberty, notwithſtanding that Statute. And to what Purpoſe is it to *do* any Thing by *Act of Parliament*, when the Queen will *undo* the ſame by her *Prerogative?* Out of the Spirit of Humiliation, Mr. Speaker, I do ſpeak it, there is no Act of hers that hath been, or is more derogatory to her own Majeſty, more odious to the Subject, more dangerous to the Common-Wealth than the granting of theſe Monopolies.'

Mr. *Martin*. 'I ſpeak for a Town that grieves and pines, for a Country that groaneth and lauguiſheth under the Burthen of monſtrous and unconſcionable Subſtitutes to the Monopolitans

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'tans of Starch, Tinn, Fish, Cloth, Oil, Vine-
'gar, Salt, and I know not what, nay what not?
'The principal Commodities, both of my Town
'and Country, are ingrossed into the Hand of those
'Blood-Suckers of the Common-Wealth. If a
'Body, Mr. Speaker, being let Blood, be left
'languishing without any Remedy, how can the
'good Estate of that Body long remain? Such is
'the State of my Town and Country; the Traffic
'is taken away, the inward and private Commo-
'dities are taken away, and dare not be used with-
'out the Licence of these Monopolitans. If these
'Blood-Suckers be still let alone to suck up the
'best and principal Commodities which the
'Earth there hath given us, what shall become of
'us, from whom the Fruits of our own Soil and
'the Commodities of our own Labour, which,
'with the Sweat of our Brows, even up to the
'Kneees in Mire and Dirt, we have laboured for
'shall be taken by Warrant of supreme Autho-
'rity, which the poor Subjects dare not gainsay?'

Sir *George Moore*. 'I make no Question but
'that this Bill offereth good Matter; and I do
'wish, that the Matter may in some Sort be prose-
'cuted, and the Bill rejected. Many Grievances
'have been laid open touching the Monopolies of
'*Salt*; but, if we add thereunto *Petre*, then we
'had hit the Grief aright; with which my Coun-
'try is perplexed. There be three Persons, her
'Majesty, the Patentee, and the Subject; her
'Majesty the Head, the Patentee the Hand, and
'the Subject the Foot. Now here's our Case,
'the Head gives Power to the Hands, the Hand
'oppresseth the Foot, the Foot riseth against the
'Head. We know the Power of her Majesty
'cannot be restrained by an Act, Why, therefore,
'should we thus talk? Admit we should make this
'Statute with a *Non obstante*, yet the Queen may
'grant a Patent with a *Non obstante*, to cross
'this *Non obstante*. I think therefore, it agreeth
'more with the Gravity and Wisdom of this
'House

'Houſe, to proceed with all Humbleneſs by Peti- Queen Elizabeth, 1601,
'tion than Bill.'

Mr. *Wingfield.* 'I would but put the Houſe in 'Mind of the Proceeding we had in this Matter 'the laſt Parliament; in the End whereof, our 'Speaker moved her Majeſty, by Way of Petition, 'that the Griefs touching theſe Monopolies might 'be reſpected, and the Grievances coming of them 'might be redreſſed. Her Majeſty anſwered, by 'the Lord Keeper, "That ſhe would take Care "of theſe Monopolies, and our Griefs ſhould be "redreſſed; if not, ſhe would give us free Liberty "to proceed in making a Law the next Parlia- "ment." The Grief, Mr. Speaker, is ſtill bleed- 'ing, and we grown under the Sore, and are ſtill 'without Remedy. It was my Hap the laſt Par- 'liament to encounter with the Word *Prerogative*; 'but as then, ſo now I do it with all Humility, 'and with all Happineſs both unto it, and to her 'Majeſty. I am indifferent touching our Proceed- 'ing either by Bill or Petition, ſo that therein 'our Grievances may follow, whereby her Ma- 'jeſty may ſpecially underſtand them.

Sir *Walter Raleigh.* 'I am urged to ſpeak in 'two Reſpects; the one becauſe I find myſelf 'touched in particular; the other, in that I take 'ſome Imputation of Slander to be offered unto 'her Majeſty, I mean, by the Gentleman that firſt 'mentioned Tinn (Mr. *Martin*) for that being one 'of the principal Commodities of this Kingdom, 'and being in *Cornwall*, it hath ever, ſo long as 'there were any, belonged to the Dukes of *Corn-* 'wall, and they had ſpecial Patents of Privilege. 'It pleaſed her Majeſty freely to beſtow upon me 'that Privilege; and that Patent being, Word 'for Word, the very ſame the Duke's is, and 'becauſe by reaſon of mine Office of Lord War- 'den of the Stannery, I can ſufficiently inform 'this Houſe of the State thereof; I will make 'bold to deliver it unto you. When the Tinn is

'taken

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'taken out of the Mine, and melted and refined, 'then is every Piece, containing one hundred 'Weight, ſealed with the Duke's Seal. Now I 'will tell you, that before the granting of my 'Patent, whether Tinn were but of ſeventeen 'Shillings, and ſo upwards to fifty Shillings a hundred; yet the poor Workmen never had above 'two Shillings a Week, finding themſelves: But 'ſince my Patent, whoſoever will work, may; 'and buy Tinn at what Price ſoever, they have 'four Shillings a Week truly paid. There is no 'Poor that will work there, but may, and have 'that Wages. Notwithſtanding, if all others may 'be repealed, I will give my Conſent as freely 'to the Cancelling of this, as any Member of this 'Houſe.'

Mr. *Downland*. 'If we proceed by Way 'of Petition, we can have no more gracious Anſwer than we had the laſt Parliament to our Petitions. But ſince that Parliament, we have no 'Reformation; and the Reaſon why I think no 'Reformation hath been had, is, becauſe I never 'heard the Cry againſt Monopolies greater and 'more vehement.'

Mr. *Johnſon*. 'I would we were all ſo happy, that 'her Gracious Self had heard but the fifth Part of 'that, that every one of us hath heard this Day; I 'think verily, in my Soul and Conſcience, we 'ſhould not be more deſirous in having thoſe Monopolies called in, than ſhe would be earneſt 'therein herſelf.'

After all this Debate, the Queſtion was put for committing the Bill or not, and it was carried in the Affirmative. On which a Committee was appointed, conſiſting of all the Members of the Privy-Council, and the learned Counſel of that Houſe, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Haſtings*, Sir *Edward Stafford*, Sir *Edward Hobby*, Sir *George Moore*, Sir *Robert Wroth*, and divers others.

In

In the Afternoon of the next Day, the Committee met; and our *Journaliſt* hath given ſome Particulars of what happened at their firſt Conference. Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Sir *Edward Hobbey* 'informed the Houſe of the 'great Abuſe of the Patentee for Salt in his Coun- 'try, That betwixt *Michaelmas* and St. *Andrew's* 'Tide, where Salt (before the Patent) was wont 'to be ſold for ſixteen Pence a Buſhel, it is now 'ſold for fourteen or fifteen Shillings a Buſhel: 'But, after the Lord Preſident had Underſtanding 'thereof, he committed the Patentee, and cauſed 'it to be ſold for ſixteen Pence as before. To '*Lyme*, there is brought every Year above three 'thouſand Wey of Salt: and every Wey of Salt is, 'ſince the Patent, enhanced to twenty Shillings; 'and where the Buſhel was wont to be eight 'Pence, it is now ſixteen Pence. And I dare 'boldly ſay it, if this Patent were called in, there 'might well three thouſand Pound a Year be ſa- 'ved in the Ports of *Lyme*, *Boſton*, and *Hull*. I 'ſpeak of white Salt.'

Mr. *Francis Bacon*. 'The Bill is very injuri- 'ous and ridiculous; injurious, in that it taketh 'or rather ſweepeth away her Majeſty's Preroga- 'tive; and ridiculous, in that there is a Proviſo, 'that this Statute ſhall not extend to Grants made 'to Corporations; that is a Gull to ſweeten the 'Bill withal, it is only to make Fools fain. All 'Men of the Law know, that a Bill which is on- 'ly expoſitory, to expound the common Law, 'doth enact nothing; neither is any Promiſe of 'Good therein. And therefore the Proviſo in the 'Statute of 34th *Henry* VIII. of Wills, (which 'is but a Statute expoſitory of the Statute of 32d '*Henry* VIII. of Wills) touching Sir *John Gainſ- 'ford's* Will, was adjudged void. Therefore I 'think the Bill very unfit, and our Proceedings to 'be by Petition.'

Mr.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. *Flemming* ſaid (*n*), 'I will briefly give Account of all Things touching theſe Monopolies. 'Her Majeſty in her provident Care, gave Charge 'unto Mr. Attorney and myſelf, That ſpeedy 'and ſpecial Order may be take for theſe Patents; 'this was in the Beginning of *Hillary* Term laſt: 'But you all know the Danger of that Time, and 'what great Affairs of Importance happened to 'prevent theſe Buſineſſes; and ſince that Time, 'nothing could be done for Want of Leiſure.'

Sir *Robert Wroth*. 'I would but note, Mr. 'Sollicitor, That you were charged to take Order 'in *Hillary* Term laſt; Why not before? There 'was Time enough ever ſince the laſt Parliament. 'I ſpeak it, and I ſpeak it boldly, theſe Patentees 'are worſe than ever they were: And I have heard 'a Gentleman affirm in this Houſe, That there is 'a Clauſe of Revocation in theſe Patents; if ſo, 'what needed this Stir of *Scire facias*, *Quo Warranto*, and I know not what, when it is but only, to ſend for the Patentees, and cauſe a Re-delivery? There have been divers Patents granted 'ſince the laſt Parliament; theſe are now in Being, *viz.* The Patents for Currants, Iron, Powder, Cards, Ox-ſhin Bones, Train-Oyle, Tranſportation of Leather, Liſts of Cloth, Aſhes, Aniſeeds, Vinegar, Sea-Coals, Steel, Aquavitæ, Bruſhes, Pots, Salt-Petre, Lead, Accidences, Oyl, Calamin-Stone, Oyl of Blubber, Fumachoes or dryed Piltchers in the Smoak, and divers 'others.

Upon Reciting of the Patents aforeſaid, Mr. *Hackwell* ſtood up and aſked thus; 'Is not Bread 'there? *Bread, quoth one*; *Bread, quoth another*; '*this Voice ſeems ſtrange, quoth another*; *this Voice* '*ſeems ſtrange, quoth a third:* No, quoth Mr. '*Hackwell*, But if Order be not taken for theſe, 'Bread will be there before the next Parliament.'

Mr.

(*n*) Sollicitor-General.

Mr. *Heywood Townſhend*, ſeeing a Diſagreement of the Committee, made a Motion to this Effect: 'Firſt, To put them in Mind of a Petition made the laſt Parliament, which, though it took no Effect, yet we ſhould much wrong her Majeſty and forget ourſelves, if we ſhould think to ſpeed no better now in the like Caſe; becauſe then there was a Commitment for this Purpoſe, and the Committees drew a Speech, which was delivered by the Speaker, Word for Word, at the End of this Parliament; but now we might help that, by ſending our Speaker preſently, after ſuch a Committee and Speech made, with humble Suit, not only, to repeal all Monopolies grievous to the Subject; but alſo, that it would pleaſe her Majeſty, to give us Leave to make an Act, that they might be of no more Force, Validity or Effect, than they are at the common Law, without the Strength of her Prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the Act being ſo reaſonable, we might aſſure ourſelves, her Majeſty would not delay the paſſing thereof, yet we her loving Subjects would not offer, without her Privity or Conſent, (the Cauſe ſo nearly touching her Prerogative,) or go about to do any ſuch Act. And alſo, that at the Committee which ſhould make this Speech, every Member of this Houſe, which either found himſelf, his Town, or Country grieved, might put in (in fair Writing) ſuch Exceptions againſt Monopolies, as he would juſtify to be true: And that the Speaker might deliver them with his own Hands, becauſe many Obſtacles and Hindrances might happen.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. *Francis Bacon*. 'Why, you have the readieſt Courſe that poſſibly can be deviſed. I would wiſh no further Order be taken, but to prefer the wiſe and diſcreet Speech made by the young Gentleman (even the youngeſt in this Aſſembly) that ſpake laſt. I will tell you, that even, *ex*

'*Ore*

Queen Elizabeth. 1601. 'Ore *Infantium & Lactantium*, the true and moſt 'certain Courſe is propounded unto us.'

The Committee agreed to this Motion, and appointed to meet again on the 23d Inſtant.

On which Day the Subjects of Monopolies was again reaſſumed in the Houſe, and Mr. *Spicer* ſaid, Mr. Speaker, 'I think it were good this Bill were 'recommitted; I am no Apoſtate, but I ſtick to the 'former Faith and Opinion that I was of, that, by 'Way of Petition, will be our ſafeſt Courſe; for 'it is to no Purpoſe to offer to tie her Hands by 'Act of Parliament, when ſhe may looſen herſelf 'at her Pleaſure. I think, it were a Courſe, *nec* '*gratum*, *nec tutum*. And therefore, the beſt 'Way is to have a Committee to conſider what 'Courſe ſhall be proceeded in; for, I doubt not, 'but we be all agreed of the Reformation, though 'not of the Manner.'

Mr. *Davies* ſaid, 'God hath given that Power 'to abſolute Princes which he attributeth to him-'ſelf, *Dixi quod Dii eſtis*. And as Attributes un-'to them, he hath given Majeſty, Juſtice, and 'Mercy; Majeſty, in reſpect of the Honour that 'the Subject ſheweth to his Prince; Juſtice, in re-'ſpect he can do no Wrong, therefore the Law is '1 *Henry* VII. *That the King cannot commit a* '*Diſſeizin*; Mercy, in reſpect he giveth Leave to 'Subjects, to right themſelves by Law: And there-'fore in 43 *Aſſiſ.* an Indictment was brought a-'gainſt Bakers and Brewers, for that, by Colour of 'Licence, they had broken the Aſſize; wherefore 'according to that Precedent, I think it moſt fit to 'proceed by Bill, not by Petition.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. 'If there had not been 'ſome Miſtaking or ſome Confuſion in the Com-'mittee, I would not now have ſpoken. The 'Queſtion was, of the moſt convenient Way to 'reform theſe Grievances of Monopoly: But af-'ter Diſputation, of the Labour we have nor re-

'ceived the expected Fruit. If every Man shall take Leave to speak for the common Subject, I am afraid in these vast Powers of our Mind, we shall dispute the Project of Reformation quite out of Doors. This Dispute draws two great Things in Question; first, The Prince's Power; secondly, The Freedom of *Englishmen*. I am born an *Englishman*, and am a Fellow Member of this House; I would desire to live no Day, in which I should detract from either. I am Servant unto the Queen; and before I would speak or give Consent to a Case, that should debase her Prerogative or abridge it, I would wish my Tongue cut out of my Head.' I am sure, there were Law-makers before there were Laws. One Gentleman went about to possess us, with the Execution of the Law in an antient Record of 10th King *Edward* III. likely enough to be true in that Time, when the King was afraid of the Subject. Though this Precedent be a Substance, yet it is not the Whole of the Parliament. For in former Times, all sate together as well King as Subject; and then, it was no Prejudice to his Prerogative to have such a Monopoly examined. If you stand upon Law, and dispute of the Prerogative, heark ye what *Bracton* saith, *Prærogativam Nostram Nemo audeat disputare*. And for my own Part, I like not these Courses should be taken. And you, Mr. Speaker, should perform the Charge her Majesty gave unto you in the Beginning of this Parliament, not to receive Bills of this Nature; for her Majesty's Ears be open to all Grievances; and her Hand stretch'd out to every Man's Petitions. For the Matter of Access I like it well, so it be first moved and the Way prepared. I had rather all the Patents were destroyed, than her Majesty should lose the Hearts of so many Subjects as is pretended. I will tell you what I think of these Monopolies: I take them to be of three Natures, some of a free Nature and good, some void of themselves, some both good and void. For the first, when

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Queen Elizabeth 1601.

'the Prince dispenses with a penal Law that is 'left to the Alteration of Sovereignty, I think it 'powerful and irrevocable. For the second, as to 'grant that which taketh from the Subject his 'Birthright, such Men as desire these kind of Pa-'tents, I account them Misdoers and wilful and 'wicked Offenders. Of the third sort is, the Li-'cence for the Matter of Cards, *&c.* And there-'fore I think, it were fit to have a new Commit-'ment to consider what her Majesty may grant, 'what not; what Course we shall take and upon 'what Points,'

Mr. *Montague*. 'I am loth to speak what I 'know, lest perhaps I should displease. The 'Prerogative Royal is that which is now in Que-'stion, and which the Laws of the Land have 'ever allowed and maintained. Then my Mo-'tion shall be but this, That we may be Suitors 'unto her Majesty, that the Patentees shall have 'no other Remedies than by the Laws of the 'Realm they may have, and that our Act may be 'accordingly.'

Mr. *Martin*. 'I think the Common Grievances 'and the Queen's Prerogative have inspired this 'Gentleman that spake last (whom for Reverence 'sake, I must needs name, Mr. *Montague*,) to 'make that Motion which he hath done.'

Then a Committee was appointed to meet the same Day in the Afternoon, when Mr. Secretary *Cecil* shew'd the Committee a large Catalogue consisting of near forty different Patents (*o*), mostly granted since the sixteenth Year of the Queen's Reign.

Whereupon, after Mr. *Davis* had moved to have these Monopolies proceeded against by Bill, and Mr. *Martin* had moved to have them dealt in by Petition to her Majesty, and that the House had

(*o*) All the particular Patents are mention'd in *Dews's Journals*

had heard the particular Relation of the ſaid Monopolies, there was nothing concluded upon.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

But in the Morning of next Day, *November* 24, upon loud Confuſion in the Houſe about theſe Monopolies, Mr. Secretary *Cecil* ſtood up, and ſaid, 'The Duty I owe, and my Zeal to extinguiſh 'Monopolies, makes me to ſpeak now, and to 'ſatisfy their Opinions that think there ſhall be no 'Redreſs of theſe Monopolies. Order is attended 'with theſe two Handmaids, Gravity and Zeal; 'but Zeal with Diſcretion. I have been (though 'unworthy) a Member of this Houſe in ſix or 'ſeven Parliaments, yet never did I ſee the Houſe 'in ſo great Confuſion. I believe there never was 'in any Parliament a more tender Point handled 'than the Liberty of the Subject. But that when 'any is diſcuſſing this Point, he ſhould be cried 'and cought down; this is more fit for a Gram-'mar-School than a Court of Parliament. I have 'been Counſellor of State theſe twelve Years, 'yet did I never know it ſubject to Conſtruction 'of Levity and Diſorder. Much more ought we 'to be regardful in ſo great and grave an Aſſembly. 'Why, we have had Speeches upon Speeches, 'without either Order or Diſcretion. One would 'have had us proceed by Bill, and ſee if the Queen 'would have denied it: Another, that the Patents 'ſhould be brought here before us and cancelled; 'and this was bravely done. Others would have 'us to proceed by way of Petition, which Courſe, 'doubtleſs, is beſt; but for the firſt, and eſpecially 'for the ſecond, it is ſo ridiculous, that I think 'we ſhould have as bad Succeſs as the Devil him-'ſelf would have wiſhed in ſo good a Cauſe. 'Why, if idle Courſes had been followed, we 'ſhould have gone, forſooth, to the Queen with 'a Petition to have repealed a Patent of Mono-'poly of Tobacco-Pipes, and I know not how 'many Conceits; but I wiſh every Man to reſt 'ſatisfied 'till the Committees have brought in

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'their Resolutions according to your Command-'ments.'

The next Day, after some Bills had been read in the House, and Silence commanded, the Speaker arose out of his Chair, and every Man wondering why he stood up, he said,

The Speaker acquaints the House, by the Queen's Order, that the Monopolies shall be revoked.

'It pleased her Majesty to command me to at-'tend upon her Yesterday in the Afternoon, from 'whom I am to deliver unto you all, her Maje-'sty's most gracious Message sent by my unworthy 'Self. She yields you all hearty Thanks for your 'Care and special Regard of those Things that 'concern her State, Kingdom, and consequently 'ourselves, whose Good she had always tendered 'as her own; for our speedy Resolution in making 'of so hasty and free a Subsidy; which commonly 'succeeded but never went before our Councils; 'and for our Loyalty: I do assure you with such 'and so great Zeal and Affection she uttered and 'shewed the same, that, to express it, our Tongues 'are not able, neither our Hearts to conceive it. 'It pleased her Majesty to say unto me, That, 'if she had an hundred Tongues she could not 'express our hearty Good-Wills. And further 'she said, That as she had ever held our Good 'most dear, so the last Day of our (or her) Life 'should witness it; and that the least of her Sub-'jects was not grieved, and she not touched. She 'appealed to the Throne of Almighty God, how 'careful she hath been, and will be, to defend her 'People from all Oppressions. She said, That 'partly by Intimation of her Council, and partly 'by divers Petitions that have been delivered unto 'her both going to the Chapel and also to walk 'Abroad, she understood that divers Patents, 'which she had granted, were grievous to her 'Subjects; and that the Substitutes of the Paten-'tees had used great Oppressions. But she said, 'She never assented to grant any Thing which 'was *Malum in se*. And if in the Abuse of her 'Grant there be any Thing evil (which she took

'Know-

'Knowledge there was) she herself would take Queen Elizabeth, 1601.
'present Order of Reformation. I cannot express
'unto you the apparent Indignation of her Majesty
'towards these Abuses. She said that her Kingly
'Prerogative (for so she termed it) was tender;
'and therefore desireth us not to fear or doubt of
'her careful Reformation; for she said, that her
'Commandment was given a little before the late
'Troubles, (meaning the Earl of *Essex's* Matters,)
'but had an unfortunate Event: But that in the
'midst of her most great and weighty Occasions,
'she thought upon them. And that this should
'not suffice, but that further Order should be taken
'presently, and not *in futuro*, (for that also was
'another Word, which I take it her Majesty used;)
'and that some should be presently repealed, some
'suspended, and none put in Execution, but such
'as should first have a Tryal according to the Law
'for the Good of the People. Against the Abuses
'her Wrath was so incensed, that she said, that
'she neither could nor would suffer such to escape
'with Impunity. So, to my unspeakable Com-
'fort, she hath made me the Messenger of this
'her gracious Thankfulness and Care. Now we
'see that the Ax of her Princely Justice is laid to
'the Root of the Tree; and so we see her Good-
'ness hath prevented our Counsels and Consulta-
'tions. God make us thankful, and send her
'long to reign amongst us. If through Weakness
'of Memory, Want of Utterance, or Frailty of
'myself, I have omitted any Thing of her Ma-
'jesty's Commands, I do most humbly crave Par-
'don for the same; and do beseech the honourable
'Persons which assist this Chair, and were present
'before her Majesty at the Delivery hereof, to
'supply and help my Imperfections; which joined
'with my Fear, have caused me (no doubt) to
'forget something which I should have delivered
'unto you.'

'After a little Pause and low Talking one with another, Mr. Secretary *Cecil* stood up and said,

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'There needs no Supply of the Memory 'of the Speaker: But, becauſe it pleaſed him 'to deſire ſome that be about him to aid his 'Delivery, and becauſe the reſt of my Fellows be 'ſilent, I will take upon me to deliver ſomething

Secretary Cecil's Speech to the ſame Effect.

'which I both then heard, and ſince know. I 'was preſent with the reſt of my Fellow-Coun-'ſellors, and the Meſſage was the ſame that hath 'been told you; and the Cauſe hath not ſucceeded 'from any particular Courſe thought upon, but 'from private Informations of ſome particular 'Perſons. I have been very inquiſitive of them, 'and of the Cauſe why more Importunity was 'now uſed than afore; which I am afraid, comes 'by being acquainted with ſome Courſe of Pro-'ceeding in this Houſe. There are no Patents 'now of Force, which ſhall not preſently be re-'voked; for what Patent ſoever is granted, there 'ſhall be left to the Overthrow of that Patent, 'a Liberty agreeable to the Law. There is no 'Patent if it be *Malum in ſe*, but the Queen was 'ill apprized in her Grant. But all to the Gene-'rality be unacceptable. I take it, there is no Pa-'tent whereof the Execution hath not been inju-'rious. Would that they had never been granted. 'I hope there ſhall never be more. [All the Houſe 'ſaid *Amen.*] In particular, moſt of theſe Patents 'have been ſupported by Letters of Aſſiſtance from 'her Majeſty's Privy-Council; but whoſoever 'looks upon them ſhall find, that they carry no 'other Stile, than with relation to the Patent. I 'dare aſſure you from henceforth there ſhall be no 'more granted. They ſhall all be revoked. But 'to whom do they repair with theſe Letters? to 'ſome Out-houſe, to ſome deſolate Widow, to 'ſome ſimple Cottage, or poor ignorant People, 'who, rather than they would be troubled and un-'do themſelves by coming up hither, will give 'any thing in reaſon for theſe Caterpillar's Satisfac-'tion. The Notice of this is now public, and 'you will perhaps judge this to be a Tale to ſerve 'the Time. But I would have all Men to know

'thus

'thus much, that it is no Jesting with a Court of Parliament; neither dares any Man (for my own Part, I dare not) so mock and abuse all the States of this Kingdom, in a Matter of this Consequence and Importance. I say therefore, there shall be a Proclamation general throughout the Realm, to notify her Majesty's Resolution in this Behalf. And because you may eat your Meat more savoury that you have done, every Man shall have Salt as good and cheap as he can buy it or make it, freely without Danger of that Patent, which shall be presently revoked. The same Benefit shall they have which have cold Stomachs, both for *Aquavitæ* and *Aqua composita* and the like. And they that have weak Stomachs, for their Satisfaction, shall have Vinegar and Alegar, and the like, set at Liberty. Train-Oyl shall go the same Way; Oyl of Blubber shall march in equal Rank; Brushes and Bottles endure the like Judgment. The Patent for Poul-davy, if it be not called in, it shall be. Oade, which, as I take it, is not restrained either by Law or Statute, but only Proclamation (I mean from the former Sowing) though for the saving thereof it might receive good Disputation; yet for your Satisfaction, the Queen's Pleasure is to revoke that Proclamation; only she prayeth thus much, that when she cometh on Progress to see you in your Countries, she be not driven out of your Towns by suffering it to infect the Air too near them. Those that desire to go sprucely in their Ruffs, may at less Charge than accustomed, obtain their Wish; for the Patent for Starch, which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now be repealed. There are other Patents which be considerable, as the Patent of New-Drapery, which shall be suspended and left to the Law: Irish Yarn, a Matter that I am sorry there is Cause of Complaint; for, the Salvageness of the People and the War have frustrated the Hope of the Patentee: a Gentleman of good Service and Desert, a good Subject to her Majesty, and a

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'good Member of the Common-Wealth, Mr. 'Carmarthen: Notwithstanding, it shall be sus- 'pended and left to the Law. The Patent for 'Calf-Skins and Fells, which was made with a 'Relation, shall endure the Censure of the Law. 'But I must tell you, there is no Reason that all 'should be revoked, for the Queen means not to 'be swept out of her Prerogative. I say, it shall 'be suspended, if the Law do not warrant it. 'There is another Servant of her Majesty's, Mr. 'Onslow, one of her Pensioners, an honest Gen- 'tleman and a faithful Servant, he hath the Patent 'for Steel, which one Mr. *Beale* once had; this 'too because of Complaints shall be suspended. 'There is another that hath the Patent for Leather, 'Sir *Edward Dyer*, a Gentleman of good Desert, 'honest, religious, and wise; this was granted un- 'to him thirty Years ago. It crept not in by the 'new Misgovernment of the Time; yet this shall 'also be suspended. The Patent for Cards shall 'be suspended and tryable by the common Law. 'The Patent for Glasses, which though I do least 'apprehend to be prejudicial to the Public Good, 'yet it is left to the Law. There is another Pa- 'tent for Saltpetre, that hath been both accused 'and slandered; it digs into every Man's House, it 'annoys the Inhabitant, and generally troubleth 'the Subject; for this I beseech you be contended. 'Yet I know, I am to blame to desire it, it being 'condemned by you *in Foro Conscientiæ*; but I 'assure you it shall be fully sifted and tryed in *Foro* 'Judicii. Her Majesty means to take this Patent 'unto herself, and advise with her Counsel touch- 'ing the same. For I must tell you the Kingdom 'is not so well furnished with Powder as now it 'should be. But if it be thought fit upon Advice 'to be cancelled, her Majesty commanded me to 'tell you, that though she be willing to help the 'grave Gentleman that hath that Patent, yet out 'of that abundant Desire that she hath to give you 'compleat Satisfaction, it shall be repealed. This 'hath come to the Ear of the Queen, and I 'have

'have been moſt earneſt to ſearch for the Inſtru- Queen Elizabeth.
'ment, and as a Counſellor of State, have done 1601.
'my beſt Endeavour to ſalve the Sore; but I fear
'we are not ſecret within ourſelves. Then I muſt
'needs give you this for a future Caution, That
'whatſoever is ſubject to public Expectation can-
'not be good, while the Parliament-Matters are
'ordinary Talk in the Street. I have heard my-
'ſelf, being in my Coach, theſe Words ſpoken
'aloud, *God proſper thoſe that further the Over-*
'*throw of theſe Monopolies, God ſend the Preroga-*
'*tive touch not our Liberty!* I will not wrong any
'ſo much as to imagine he was of this Aſſembly;
'yet let me give you this Note, That the Time
'was never more apt to diſorder and make ill In-
'terpretation of good Meaning; I think, thoſe
'Perſons would be glad that all Sovereignty were
'converted into Popularity; we being here, are
'but the popular Mouth, and our Liberty, the
'Liberty of the Subject: And the World is apt
'to ſlander, moſt eſpecially, the Miniſters of Go-
'vernment.

'Thus much have I ſpoken to accompliſh my
'Duty unto her Majeſty, but not to make any
'further Performance of the well uttered and gravely
'and truly delivered Speech of the Speaker. But
'I muſt crave your Favours a little longer to make
'an Apology for my ſelf. I have held the Favour
'of this Houſe as dear as my Life, and I have been
'told that I deſerved to be taxed Yeſterday of the
'Houſe, I proteſt my Zeal to have the Buſineſs
'go forward in a right and hopeful Courſe; and
'my Fear to diſpleaſe her Majeſty, by a harſh and
'raſh Proceeding, made me ſo much to lay aſide
'my Diſcretion, that I ſaid it might rather be termed
'a School than a Council, or to that Effect. But
'by this Speech if any think I called him School-
'Boy, he both wrongs me and miſtakes me. Shall
'I tell you what *Demoſthenes* ſaid to the Clamours
'which the *Athenians* made, that they were *Pue-*
'*riles & dignos Pueris.* And yet that was to a po-
'pular State. And I wiſh that whatſoever is here

'ſpoken

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'ſpoken may be buried within theſe Walls. Let 'us take Example of the Jewiſh Synagogue, who 'would always *Sepelire Senatum cum Honore*, and 'not blaſt their own Follies and Imperfections. If 'any Man in this Houſe ſpeak wiſely, we do him 'great Wrong to interrupt him; if fooliſhly, let 'us hear him out, we ſhall have the more Cauſe 'to tax him. And I do heartily pray, that no 'Member of this Houſe may *plus Verbis offendere* 'quam Conſilio juvare.'

Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks, &c. to the Queen upon that Occaſion.

Mr. *Francis Moore*. 'I muſt confeſs Mr. Speaker, I moved the Houſe both the laſt Parliament 'and this touching this Point; but I never meant '(and I hope this Houſe thinketh ſo) to ſet Limits 'and Bounds to the Prerogative Royal. But now 'ſeeing it hath pleaſed her Majeſty of her ſelf, out 'of the Abundance of her Princely Goodneſs, to ſet 'at Liberty her Subjects from the Thraldom of thoſe 'Monopolies, from which there was no Town, 'City, or Country, free; I would be bold, in one 'Motion, to offer two Conſiderations to this Houſe. 'The firſt, that Mr. Speaker might go unto her 'Majeſty, to yield her our moſt humble and hearty 'Thanks, and withal to ſhew the Joy of her Subjects 'for their Delivery, and their Thankfulneſs unto her 'for the ſame: The other, that where divers 'Speeches have been made extravagantly in this 'Houſe, which doubtleſs have been told her Ma'jeſty, and perhaps all ill conceived of by her; I 'would therefore that Mr. Speaker not only ſhould 'ſatisfy her Majeſty, by way of Apology, therein, 'but alſo humbly crave Pardon for the ſame.'

Mr. *Wingfield* ſaid, 'My Heart is not able to 'conceive the Joy which I feel, and I aſſure you 'my Tongue cannot utter the ſame. If a Sen'tence of Everlaſting Happineſs had been pronoun'ced unto me, it could not have made me ſhew 'more outward Joy than now I do, which I can'not refrain to expreſs; there could nothing have 'been more acceptable to the Subject than this 'Meſſage. And I verily think, if ever any of 'her Majeſty's Works be meritorious before God,

'this is. I do agree with all my Heart in the first Part of the Gentleman's Motion that last spake; but do utterly mislike the latter: For it is not to be intended, we should have had so good and gracious a Message, if the Truth of some particular Speeches had been delivered unto her. And now for us to accuse our selves, by excusing a Fault with which we are not charged, were a Thing in my Opinion inconvenient, and unfitting the Wisdom of this House.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Sir *George Moore*, spake to the same Effect.

Sir *Francis Bacon*, spake to the same Effect also, and concluded thus, '*Nescio quid Peccati portet hæc Purgatio.*"

'So it was put to the Question and concluded, that Thanks should be returned by the Speaker, and twelve Members were named to go with him as a convenient Number; and Intreaty made to the Privy Council to obtain Liberty to be admitted.'

But to shew, that in the midst of all other Business, this Affair of Monopolies was still at Heart; on the 27th Instant, one Mr. *Downald* moved the House, 'First, That this gracious Message, which 'had been sent from her Majesty, might be written 'in the Books of Records of this House, (being 'worthy to be written in Gold) as well as it is 'written and fixed in the true Heart of every good 'Subject; Secondly, That the Honourable Assembly of this House would move her Majesty, 'and be earnest Means of Speed, lest that which is 'now meant indeed, may, by Protraction of Time 'be altered, or perhaps not so happily effected.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil* said, 'I promised to be as 'silent as I could. Among much Speech of the 'Wise, there wants not much Folly, much more in 'me. I do not speak because I do dislike the Motion of the Gentleman that last spake, but to defend the Diligence and Grace of the Queen. It is 'no Matter of Toy for a Prince to notify in public a Matter of this Weight. Though the Idol of 'a Monopoly be a great Monster, yet after two 'or three days I doubt not you shall see him 'dis-

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'dismember'd: And I protest there is not any 'Soul that lives deserves Thanks in this Cause but 'our Sovereign. Yesterday the Queen gave Order 'for a Draught of a Proclamation. I had it in my 'Hand. You all know, I went even now out of 'the House; then I read it, and sent for him that 'should deliver it to her Hands. Now what needs 'this new Zeal?'

Mr. *Davis* said, 'Mr. Speaker, I stood up be-'fore to speak, it is not much I had to say; only 'this, that which was delivered unto you from her 'Sacred Self, I think to be Gospel, that is, Glad 'Tidings: And as the Gospel is registred and 'written, so would I have that also; for if ever 'glad Tidings came to the Heart of the Subject, 'they now come. This is all, Sir.'

Sir *George Moore* said, 'This eating and fretting 'Disease of Monopolies I have ever detested with 'my Heart; and the greater the Grievance is, the 'more inestimable is the grave Wisdom of her Ma-'jesty in repealing them. And therefore for us to 'think we can sufficiently requite the same, it were 'to hold a Candle before the Sun to dim the Light. 'And seeing she, in her Clemency and Care to us, 'hath taken the Matter into her own Hands, I wish 'the Matter may be no more spoke of, much less 'proceeded in.'

Sir *Francis Hastings* said, 'It ought to be written 'in the Tables of our Hearts, *&c.*'

Mr. *Lawrence Hide*. 'I think the Gentleman 'that set this Motion on foot, spake out of Joy for 'her Majesty's Grace and Zeal to have Performance 'of her Promise. In that he wished it might be 'recorded in Paper here or Parchment, it is not to 'be intended but he meant also in our Hearts, 'which remain no longer than we live: But Re-'cords remain long, and will give a lively Memory 'in Ages to come. And therefore for that part 'of his Motion I think it very good, and wish the 'Clerk may do it accordingly.'

Mr. Comptroller, 'I think he that first moved 'this Question, exceedingly forgot himself, and ex-

'ceed-

'ceedingly detracted from her Majesty; who, I 'know, out of her abundant Love and Grace to this 'House, hath taken such speedy Course, as hath 'been delivered by my Fellow-Counsellor. With 'that Affection she embraceth this House, that in 'more Familiar than Princely sort, it hath pleased 'her to say, "Recommend me to the House, with "Thanks for their Promise and Care for their com-"mon Good." Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. Speaker said, 'My Heart is not able to 'conceive, nor my Tongue to utter the Joy I 'conceived of her Majesties gracious and especial 'Care for our Good. Wherefore as God him-'self said, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*, so may 'her Majesty say, in that she herself will be the 'only and speedy Agent for Performance of our 'most humble and most wished Desires. Where-'fore let us not doubt but, as she hath been, so she 'still will be, our most Gracious Sovereign and 'natural Nursing Mother unto us. Whose Days 'the Almighty God prolong to all our Comforts.' All said *Amen.*

On the Day after, Mr. Secretary declared, 'That 'according to the Direction of this House, her 'Majesty hath been informed of the exceeding and 'inestimable Joy and Comfort, which this House 'hath received by a Message, lately published, sent 'from her Highness by Mr. Speaker: And hath 'been likewise moved to signifiy her Highness's 'Pleasure touching the Determination of this House 'in appointing Mr. Speaker, with some selected 'Company of the same, to render the most humble 'and dutiful Thanks of this whole House, for the 'said most gracious, most princely and com-'fortable Message: And her gracious Answer was, 'That her Majesty being acquainted with the said 'Desires of this House, did vouchsafe that Mr. 'Speaker with forty, fifty, or a hundred of this 'House, such as should thereunto be appointed, 'should have Access unto her Majesty for the same 'Purpose, upon *Monday* next in the Afternoon, at 'the Court, and should be all welcome.'

Where-

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Whereupon were appointed the Knights for all the Shires, Lord *Howard*, Lord *Clinton*, all Knights, Members of this Houſe, and ſeveral others.

A large Committee attend her Majeſty therewith.

Mr. Comptroller added, that the Queen had commanded him to tell the Houſe, 'That the 'Reaſon of her Limitation of having a convenient 'Number was, that the Place whereunto we ſhould 'come, was not big enough to receive us All.'

And now, to make an End of this long and important Affair; on the 30th Day of *November* in the Afternoon, the Speaker with about ſeven Score of the Commons met at the great Chamber before the Council Room; when all being admitted into the ſaid Room, the Queen ſitting under a Canopy at the upper End of it; the Speaker, after three low Reverences made, ſpake as follows.

The Speaker's Speech.

Moſt Sacred and more than moſt gracious Sovereign.

'WE your faithful, loyal and obedient Subjects 'and Commons here preſent, vouchſafed 'of your eſpecial Goodneſs (to our unſpeakable 'Comfort) Acceſs to your ſacred Preſence, do in all 'Duty and Humbleneſs, come to preſent that which 'no Words can expreſs, moſt humble and thank-'ful Acknowledgement of your moſt gracious Meſ-'ſage, and moſt bounden and humble Thanks for 'your Majeſty's moſt abundant Goodneſs extended 'and performed to us. We cannot ſay, moſt Gra-'cious Sovereign, We have called and been heard, 'We have complained and have been helped; 'though in all Duty and Thankfulneſs we acknow-'ledge, your Sacred Ears are ever open, and ever 'bowed down to hear us, and your bleſſed Hands 'ever ſtretched out to relieve us; We acknow-'ledge, (Sacred Sovereign) in all Duty and Thank-'fulneſs we acknowledge, that before we call, 'your preventing Grace and All-deſerving Good-'neſs doth watch over us for our Good; more 'ready to give than we can deſire, much leſs de-'ſerve. That Attribute which is moſt proper un-'to God, to perform all he promiſeth, appertain-'eth alſo unto you our Moſt Gracious Sovereign

'Queen

'Queen of all Truth, of all Constancy, of all 'Goodness, never wearied in doing Good unto us; '(the Deeds themselves do speak) most careful to 'provide all good Things for us; most gracious, 'most tender to remove all Grievances from us, 'which all your Princely Actions have ever shew-'ed, and even now your most gracious published 'Proclamation, of your own only meer Motion 'and special Grace for the Good of all your Peo-'ple, doth witness to us. We come not, Sacred 'Sovereign, one of ten to render Thanks, and the 'rest to go away unthankful; but All of us, in all 'Duty and Thankfulness, do throw down ourselves 'at the Feet of your Majesty, do praise God and 'bless your Majesty. Neither do we present our 'Thanks in Words of any outward Thing, which can 'be no sufficient Retribution for so great Goodness; 'but in all Duty and Thankfulness, prostrate at 'your Feet, we present our most loyal and thank-'ful Hearts, even the last Drop of Blood in our 'Hearts, and the last Spirit of Breath in our Nostrils, 'to be poured out, to be breathed up for your 'Safety.' Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Then after three low Reverences made, He with the rest kneeled down, and her Majesty began thus to answer herself, *viz.*

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard your Declaration, and perceive your Care of our State, by falling into the Consideration of a grateful Acknowledgment of such Benefits as you have received; and that your Coming is to present Thanks unto us, which I accept with no less Joy than your Loves can have Desire to offer such a Present. I do assure you, that there is no Prince that loveth his Subjects better, or whose Love can countervail our Love; there is no Jewel, be it of never so rich a Price, which I prefer before this Jewel, I mean your Love; for I do more esteem it than any Treasure or Riches; for that we know how to prize, but Love and Thanks I count inestimable. And The Queen's Answer.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

And though God hath raiſed me high, yet this I count the Glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your Loves. This makes me that I do not ſo much rejoice, that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over ſo thankful a People. Therefore I have Cauſe to wiſh nothing more than to content the Subject, and that is a Duty which I owe. Neither do I deſire to live longer Days, than that I may ſee your Proſperity, and that's my only Deſire. And as I am that Perſon that ſtill, yet under God, hath delivered you; ſo I truſt, by the Almighty Power of God, that I ſtill ſhall be his Inſtrument to preſerve you from Envy, Peril, Diſhonour, Shame, Tyranny and Oppreſſion, partly by Means of your intended Helps, which we take very acceptably, becauſe it manifeſteth the Largeneſs of your Loves, and Loyalties unto your Sovereign. Of myſelf I muſt ſay this, I never was any greedy, ſcraping Graſper, nor a ſtrait faſt-holding Prince, nor yet a Waſter; my Heart was never ſet on Worldly Goods, but only for my Subjects Good. What you do beſtow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to beſtow on you again. Yea mine own Properties I count yours, to be expended for your Good. Therefore render unto them from me, I beſeech you, Mr. Speaker, ſuch Thanks as you imagine my Heart yieldeth, but my Tongue cannot expreſs.

All this while they kneeled. Whereupon her Majeſty ſaid, *Mr Speaker, I would wiſh you and the reſt to ſtand up, for I ſhall yet trouble you with longer Speech.* So they all ſtood up, and ſhe went on in her Speech.

Mr. Speaker, you give me Thanks, but I doubt me, I have more Cauſe to thank you all, than you me: And I charge you to thank them of the Houſe of Commons from me: For had I not received a Knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the Lap of an Error, only for Lack of true Information. Since I was Queen, yet never did I put my Pen to any Grant, but that upon Pretext and Semblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the Subjects in general, though a private Profit to ſome of

of my antient Servants who had deſerved well: But the contrary being found by Experience, I am exceeding beholding to ſuch Subjects as would move the ſame at firſt. And I am not ſo ſimple to ſuppoſe, but that there be ſome of the Lower Houſe whom theſe Grievances never touched; and for them I think they ſpeak out of Zeal to their Countries, and not out of Spleen or malevolent Affection, as being Parties grieved; and I take it exceeding grateful from them, becauſe it gives us to know that no Reſpects or Intereſts had moved them, other than the Minds they bear to ſuffer no Diminution of our Honour, and our Subjects Love unto us. The Zeal of which Affection, tending to eaſe my People and knit their Hearts unto me, I embrace with a Princely Care; far above all Earthly Treaſure I eſteem my People's Love, more than which I deſire not to merit. That my Grants ſhould be grievous to my People, and Oppreſſions to be privileged under Colour of our Patents, our Kingly Dignity ſhall not ſuffer it; yea, when I heard it, I could give no Reſt to my Thoughts until I had reformed it. Shall they think to eſcape unpuniſhed, that have thus oppreſſed you, and have been reſpecileſs of their Duty, and regardleſs of our Honour? No. Mr. Speaker, I aſſure you, it is more for Conſcience-Sake, than for any Glory or Increaſe of Love, that I deſire theſe Errors, Troubles, Vexations and Oppreſſions done by theſe Varlets and lewd Perſons, not worthy the Name of Subjects, ſhould not eſcape without condign Puniſhment. But I perceive they dealt with me like Phyſicians, who miniſtring a Drug make it more acceptable by giving it a good Aromatical Savour, or when they give Pills do gild them all over. I have ever uſed to ſet the laſt Judgment Day before mine Eyes, and ſo to rule as I ſhall be judged to anſwer before a higher Judge. To whoſe Judgment Seat I do appeal, that never Thought was cheriſhed in my Heart that tended not to my People's Good. And if my Kingly Bounty hath been abuſed, and my Grants turned to the Hurt of my People, contrary to my Will and Meaning; or if any in Authority under me, have neglected or perverted what I have Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

committed to them, I hope God will not lay their Culps and Offences to my Charge; and though there were Danger in repealing our Grants, yet what Danger would not I rather incur for your Good, than I would ſuffer them ſtill to continue? I know the Title of a King is a glorious Title; but aſſure yourſelf, that the ſhining Glory of Princely Authority hath not ſo dazzled the Eyes of our Underſtanding, but that we well know and remember, that we alſo are to yield an Account of our Actions before the Great Judge. To be a King and wear a Crown is more glorious to them that ſee it, than it is Pleaſure to them that bear it. For myſelf, I was never ſo much enticed with the glorious Name of a King, or Royal Authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me his Inſtrument to maintain his Truth and Glory, and to defend this Kingdom (as I ſaid) from Peril, Diſhonour, Tyranny and Oppreſſion. There will never Queen ſit in my Seat with more Zeal to my Country, or Care to my Subjects, and that will ſooner, with Willingneſs, yield and venture her Life for your Good and Safety than myſelf. And though you have had, and may have, many Princes more mighty and wiſe, ſitting in this Seat, yet you never had, or ſhall have, any that will be more careful and loving. Should I aſcribe any thing to myſelf and my ſexly Weakneſs, I were not worthy to live then, and of all moſt unworthy of the Mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a Heart which never yet feared Foreign or Home Enemies. I ſpeak it to give God the Praiſe as a Teſtimony before you, and not to attribute any thing unto myſelf; For I, O Lord, what am I, whom Practices and Perils paſt ſhould not fear! O what can I do (theſe ſhe ſpake with a great Emphaſis) *that I ſhould ſpeak for any Glory! God forbid. This, Mr. Speaker, I pray you, deliver unto the Houſe, to whom heartily recommend me. And ſo I commit you all to your beſt Fortunes, and further Councils. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and you of my Council, that before theſe Gentlemen depart into their Countries, you bring them all to kiſs my Hand.*

All

All this Time the Subsidy Bill laid dormant; for it had a Second Reading only, in the Morning of that Day the House went up with their Address of Thanks to the Queen. But on the 5th of *December*, the Bill for granting *four entire Subsidies and eight Fifteenths and Tenths* was read a third Time; passed upon the Question, without any Manner of Opposition; and concluded in the Lords on the 15th. Queen Elizabeth's 1601.

These additional Numbers of *Subsidies*, *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, which grew like *Falstaff's* Buckram-Men, were monstrous Things in those Days; and we cannot avoid giving a Note, which Sir *Symonds Dewes* makes on this Occasion.

'*Nota*, That whereas in the Parliament which was begun and holden at *Westminster* in *An.* 35 *Eliz. Anno Dom.* 1592. the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons were not drawn without much and long Dispute, both amongst themselves and with the Lords, to yield unto the Grant of three Subsidies and six Fiftenths and Tenths (being a greater Gift than had ever before been given unto her Majesty) and that the same was then also assented unto in respect of the great Dangers newly threatned unto her Majesty from *Rome* and *Spain*; with Caution and Promise, nevertheless, that it should not be drawn into Precedent for future Times; yet in the next Parliament which ensued in 39 *Reginæ Anno Dom.* 1597, although none of the said imminent Dangers, which had been feared in the above mentioned thirty fifth Year of her Majesty's Reign, had to that Time come into any real Execution, the House of Commons was, notwithstanding, again drawn to yield unto the same Proportion of three Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths, to be paid also unto her Majesty within a shorter Time: And now, lastly, in this present Parliament in *An.* 43 & 44 *Regin. ejusdem*, *Anno Dom.* 1601. the said House was drawn, in respect chiefly of the Troubles of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniard* had set Footing, to present unto her Highness the ex- Sir S. Dewes's Observations on the great Increase of Subsidies.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

extraordinary and great Gift of *four Subsidies and eight Fifteenths and Tenths.*

Debate on a Bill againſt profane Curſing and Swearing.

A Bill againſt uſual and profane Curſing and Swearing, having been twice read in this Houſe, and ordered to be engroſſed, Mr. *Glaſcock* ſtood up and ſaid, 'Man is made of two Parts, a Soul and 'a Body; and there are two Governments, the 'one Imperial, the other Sacerdotal; the firſt be- 'longing to the Common-Wealth, the ſecond to 'the Church. Swearing is a Thing moral, and 'toucheth the Soul, and therefore fitter to be ſpoken 'of in a Pulpit than in Parliament. If the God 'of *Abraham*, the God of *Iſaac*, and the God of 'Jacob hath ſworn, his Plague ſhall not depart 'from the Houſe of the Swearers, why ſhould we 'not ſeek to repreſs this Vice, which brings a 'Plague, which breeds Mortality, that breeds 'Deſtruction, Deſolation, and the utter Ruin of 'the Common-Wealth? If he forbids us to ſwear, 'and we fear not his Commandments, think you 'a Pain of ten Shillings, as here ſet down, will 'make us refrain this Iniquity? It is as hard for 'this Penalty to reſtrain this Sin, as for Religion to 'ſpring out of the Common Law and to take 'Effect. *Moſes*, when he ſaw God, could but ſee 'his back-Parts only, and no Man ever ſaw more. 'Why, theſe Swearers ſwear by all his Parts, ſo 'perfectly, as though they had ſeen him all over. '*Philip*, King of *France*, made a Law that the 'Swearer ſhould be drowned; another Law was 'made, that a certain Sum ſhould be preſently paid 'as ſoon as he had ſworn, or elſe the Swearer to 'loſe his Head. We uſe ſo much Lenity in our 'Law, that we had as good make no Law, for we 'give a Penalty, and to be taken upon Conviction 'before a Juſtice of Peace; here is wiſe Stuff. 'Firſt mark what a Juſtice of Peace is, and we 'ſhall eaſily find a Gap in our Law. A Juſtice 'of Peace is a living Creature, that for half a 'Dozen of Chickens, will diſpenſe with a whole 'Dozen of penal Statutes. We ſearch and ingroſs;

'they

'they retail. These be the Basket-Justices, of whom the Tale may be verified of a Justice, that I know, to whom one of his poor Neighbours coming, said, Sir, I am very highly rated in the Subsidy-Book, I beseech you to help me. To whom he answered, I know thee not. Not me Sir, quoth the Country-Man? Why your Worship had my Teem; and my Oxen such a Day, and I have ever been at your Worship's Service; have you so, Sir, quoth the Justice, I never remember'd I had any such Matter, no not a Sheep's-Tail. So unless you offer Sacrifice to the Idol-Justices, of Sheep and Oxen, they know you not. If a Warrant come from the Lords of the Council to levy a hundred Men, he will levy two hundred; and what with chopping in and crossing out, he'll gain a hundred Pounds by the Bargain. Nay, if he be to send out a Warrant, upon a Man's Request, to have any fetch'd in upon Suspicion of Felony, or the like; he will write the Warrant himself, and you must put two Shillings in his Pocket as his Clerk's Fee, (when God knows he keeps but two or three Hindes) for his better Maintenance. Why we have had here five Bills; of Swearing, going to Church, Good-Ale, Drunkenness and ..... this is as good to them as if you had given them a Subsidy and two Fifteenths. Only in that Point I mislike the Bill, for the rest I could wish it good Passage.'

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

The Character of a Justice of Peace.

Sir *Francis Hastings* said, 'That such Justices were well worthy to be lock'd up in an Ambery. But he wish'd that All might not be censured for One evil, who though he neglected both the Care of Conscience and Country which he should love, yet, doubtless, many did not so; as being touched in Conscience to remember that our long Peace should make us careful to please him in doing of Justice, that had preserved us, and was the Author of our Peace, God himself.' And thereupon the Bill was ingrossed.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Debate on a Bill for reſorting to Church.

Another Bill, for the more diligent Reſort to Church upon Sundays, was read a ſecond Time, when Mr. *Roger Owen* ſpoke to this Effect: 'That he miſliked the Bill for two Reſpects; the 'one for the Penalty, the other in reſpect of the 'Party puniſhing, that is, the Juſtice. For the 'firſt, the Penalty is twelve Pence. It is well 'known that the pooreſt Recuſant in *England* 'ought, as well as the Rich, to pay his twenty 'Pound, and for Want of Lands and Goods, his 'Body is liable; and therefore we ſhall doubly 'puniſh him, which is againſt Law. for the 'other touching the Juſtice, I think it too great 'a Trouble, and they are ever loaden with a 'Number of penal Statutes, yea a whole Alpha-'bet, as appears by *Huſſey* in the Time of *Henry* 'VII. And this is a matter ſo obvious, that a 'Juſtice of Peace's Houſe will be like a Quarter-'Seſſions, with the Multitude of theſe Com-'plaints. I think alſo it is an Infringement of '*Magna Charta*, for that gives Trial *per Pares*, 'but this by two Witneſſes before a Juſtice of the 'Peace. And by this Statute, if a Juſtice of the 'Peace come in to the Quarter-Seſſions, and ſay it 'is a good Oath, this is as good as an Indictment: 'Therefore for my Part, Away with the Bill.'

Sir *Francis Haſtings*. 'I never, in my Life, 'heard Juſtices of the Peace taxed before in this 'Sort: For ought I know, Juſtices of Peace be Men of Quality, Honeſty, Experience and Juſtice. 'I would aſk the Gentleman that laſt ſpake, but 'two Queſtions; the firſt, If he would have any 'Penalty at all inflicted? The ſecond, If in the firſt 'Statute, or in this, an eaſier Way for the levying 'of this twelve Pence can be? If he deny the firſt, 'I know his Scope; if the ſecond, no Man but 'himſelf will deny it. And to ſpeak ſo in both, 'is neither gravely, religiouſly nor rightly ſpoken. 'And therefore for God, the Queen, and our 'Country's Sake, I beſeech a Commitment.'

Sir *Carew Reynolds*. 'The Sabbath is ordained 'for four Cauſes; firſt, To meditate on the Om-

'nipo-

nipotency of God; secondly, To assembly us together to give Thanks; thirdly, That we might be the better enabled to follow our own Affairs; fourthly, That we might hallow that Day and sanctify the same. King *James* IV. of *Soctland*, in the Year 1512, and King *James* VI. in the Year 1579, did erect and ratify a Law, that whosoever kept either Fair or Market upon the Sabbath, his Moveables should presently be given to the Poor. Men gathering of Sticks were stoned to Death, because that was thought to be a Kind of Prophanation of the Sabbath. I doubt not but great Reformation will come if this Bill pass: To the better effecting whereof, I humbly pray, that if there be Imperfections in it, it may be committed. Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Sir *George Moore*. 'For the Gentleman that last spake, and so much inveighed against Justices, it may be it proceeds out of the Corruption of his Heart; howsoever, I mean not to search it, or answer him; only I turn him to *Solomon*, and mean to answer him with Silence. Without going to Church, and doing Christian Duties we cannot be religious, and by Religion we learn both our Duty to God and to the Queen. In doing our Duty to God, we shall be better enabled to do our Duty to our Prince. And the Word biddeth us, that we should give to God that which is due to God, *et Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris*. Amongst many Laws which we have, we have none for Constraint of God's Service: I say, None, though one was made *in primo* of this Queen, because that Law is no Law which takes no Force: for *Executio Legis Vita Legis*. Then let us not give such Cause of Comfort to our Adversaries, that having drawn a Bill in Question for the Service of our God, we should stand so much in questioning the same. Once a Month coming to Church excuseth us from Danger of the Law, but not from the Commandment of God, who saith, *Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath-Day*, that is, every Sabbath.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'This Bill ties the Subject to so much and no 'more, which being agreeable with the Law of 'God, and the Rule of Policy, I see no Reason 'why we should stand so strictly in giving it a 'Commitment.'

Mr. *Bond.* 'I wish the Sabbath sanctified according to the precise Rules of God's Commandment, but I wish that St. *Augustin's* Rule may be observed in the Manner, *non Jubendo, sed Docendo, magis Monendo quam Minando.* I like not that Power should be given to the Justices of Peace; for who almost are not grieved at the luxuriant Authority of Justices of Peace? By the Statute of 1 *Edward* III. they must be good Men, and lawful, no Maintainers of Evil, but moderate in Execution of Laws; for Magistrates be Men, and Men have always attending on them two Ministers *Libidia & Iracundia*; Men of this Nature do subjugate the free-born Subject. Clerks can do much, Children more, and Wives most. It is dangerous therefore to give Authority in so dangerous a Thing as this is, which I hold worth your second Thoughts, *quæ solent esse prudentiores.* Her Majesty, during all the Time of her Reign, hath been clement, gracious, meek and merciful, yea chusing rather *delinquere*, I know not how to term it, in Lenity and not in Cruelty. But, by this Statute, there is a Constraint to come to Divine Service, and for Neglect all must pay *Plectentur Achivi:* The poor Commonalty, whose Strength and Quietness is the Strength and Quietness of us all, he only shall be punished, he vexed. For will any think that a Justice of Peace will contest with as good a Man as himself? No, this Age is too wise. I leave it to this House, whether it stand with Policy, when four Subsidies and eight Fifteenths be now granted, to bring the poorer Sort into greater Fear by these and such like Laws, *Malus Custos Diuturnitatis Metus.* And in the gracious Speech, which her Majesty lately delivered unto us, she used this, that she desired to be beloved of her Subject. It was a wise

'wise Speech of a wise Prince, for an Historian 'saith, *Timor excitat in Vindictam.* Therefore, 'Mr. Speaker, I mislike the Bill in that Point 'touching Justices, and also touching Taxation. 'I will only say thus much with *Panutius* in the '*Nicene* Council, *Absit quod tam grave Jugum 'Fratribus nostris imponamus.*

Queen Elizabeth, 1601.

'I am sorry, said Mr. Comptroller, after forty-'three Years under her Majesty's happy Govern-'ment, that we shall now dispute to commit 'a Bill of this Nature. And I would that any 'Voice durst be so bold or desperate as to cry, *Away 'with this Bill.* The old Statute gives the Penal-'ty; this new, only speedier Means to levy it. 'I much marvel that Men will, or dare, accuse 'Justices of Peace, Ministers to her Majesty, with-'out whom the Common-Wealth cannot be. If 'this Boldness go on, they will accuse Judges, and 'lastly, the Seat of Justice itself. That all Justi-'ces should be thus generally accused, this is meer 'Barbarism indeed. When her Majesty shall have 'Understanding hereof, it will be no Content un-'to her, and a Scandal unto us all.'

Mr. *Glascock.* 'In that I am taxed to tax 'Justices of Peace, I am to pray the House to 'give me Leave to make an Apology for myself. 'Mr. Speaker, I will not deny that I spake, and 'protest it in my Conscience, I spake only of the 'inferior Sort of Justices, commonly called Bas-'ket-Justices; against these I will not speak what I 'spake last, but other Matter in other Terms. 'They be like the Wise Men of *Chaldee*, that could 'never give Judgment 'till they saw the Entrails 'of Beasts. Our Statutes penal, be like the Beast 'born in the Morning, at his full Growth at Noon, 'and dead at Night: So these Statutes quick in 'Execution, are like a Wonder for nine Days; so 'long after, they be at Height; but by the End 'of the Year, they are carried dead in a Basket to 'the Justice's House.'

Mr.

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. Speaker. *Mr.* Glaſcock, *you ſpeak from the Matter and Purpoſe, and this that you have ſpoken you muſt juſtify.*

Mr. *Martin.* 'I am rather willing to ſpeak, 'in that I would willingly have an End of this 'Matter. I think we all agree upon the Subſtance, 'that it is fit the Sabbath ſhould be ſanctified. The 'other Matter, which is the Impediment, I know 'it is a Grief, but I leave it as Matter more fit to 'be decided at a Committee than here. And 'therefore, for the Honour of the Queen and of 'her Government, I with it may be committed 'without further Argument.'

Sir *Robert Wroth.* 'I think the Office of Juſ-'tice of Peace is too good a Calling for him that 'exclaims againſt it, and I think he'll ne'er have 'the Honour to have it. It were good they were 'named, and that he told who they were; other-'wiſe honeſt Men will be loth to ſerve the Queen, 'when they ſhall be ſlandered without Proof. 'Therefore I would he might anſwer it at the 'Bar.'

Mr. *Johnſon*, 'This Bill is an excellent Bill; 'and I have obſerved that all the Speeches yet 'ſpoken, have been interlarded with other Matter. 'The Gentleman now proteſteth he ſpake of 'Baſket-Juſtices; I appeal to the whole Houſe, 'whether his Definition were not general, *viz.* 'A Juſtice of Peace is a Kind of living Creature, 'that for half a Dozen of Chickens will diſpenſe 'with a Dozen of penal Statutes. I think it is 'well known that the Honourable that ſit about 'the Chair, and all the reſt of her Majeſty's Privy 'Council, have and do hold the ſame Place, and 'this toucheth them as much as inferior Juſtices. 'And threfore I humbly pray he may anſwer it 'at the Bar, and that it may not be paſs'd over 'with Silence.'—But all ſaid, *No*, *No*.

Mr. *Hide.* 'Every Man agrees this Bill hath 'good Matter, and we all agree and conſent to 'the Subſtance, though diſſent to the Form; ſome 'have more Wit, and ſome have more Under-

'ſtanding than others. If they of meaner Capa- Queen Elizabeth.
'city and Judgment ſpake impertinently, let us 1601.
'not in a Spleen ſtraight cry, *Away with the Bill*;
'but let us give it the ſame Favour we give to Bills
'of far inferior Nature, that is a Commitment.'

On the 3d of *December*, after reading ſome Bills of no great Moment, Mr. *Dannot*, Member for *Yarmouth*, got up and made a Motion of too important a Nature in itſelf and Conſequences to be omitted.

'May it pleaſe you, Mr. Speaker, the Duty I
'owe to my Sovereign and Country makes me Complaint a-
'bold to crave your Patience to hear me. The gainſt Pyrates
'Matter that I ſpeak of is twofold, the firſt con- from Dunkirk, &c.
'cerneth the Honour of the Queen; the ſecond
'the Safety of our Country; two very high Points
'for me to handle, and require a more eloquent
'Diſcourſe than I am able to make. I will uſe
'no Circumſtance, or with ſuperfluous Matter
'abuſe the Time which is very precious, but to
'the Matter. I have been of the Parliament five
'or ſix Times, and I have always obſerved by
'this Houſe (and I would willingly be reſolved by
'the Honourable about the Chair) that all the
'Wars of her Majeſty are Wars offenſive, and I
'do not hear the contrary: How then comes it
'that ſuch a Number of her Majeſty's Subjects be
'ſpoiled, robbed, beaten, wounded, themſelves
'taken, uſed with ſuch extreme Torture, rack'd,
'carried away, impriſoned, ranſomed, fined, and
'ſome executed; and all this Time no Wars?
'But, give me Leave, for theſe ten Years, I am
'ſure, the Subjects of this Land, on the Sea-
'Coaſt, have undergone theſe Tyrannies, and by
'whom? Even by two baſe Towns, *Dunkirk*
'and *Newport*. *Dunkirk* began with two Ships,
'and are now encreaſed to almoſt twenty. They
'are at Home at Supper, and the next Day here
'with us. I muſt needs confeſs the great Charge
'that I know the Lord-Admirl is at continually

'by

Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

'by lying ready to take these Pyrates. Send to 'take them, they straight flie Home: If our 'Ships return they are straight here again. I dare 'boldly say it, they have done *England* more Hurt 'since they began, than all *France*, either in the 'Time of *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. or Queen '*Mary*. If it be so that these two base Towns 'shall so affront the Power of this Land, I see 'no Reason why they should be suffered: For it 'is a great Dishonour both unto the Queen and 'unto the Kingdom. I have heard many say, 'that the Navies are the Walls of the Kingdom; 'but we suffer our Ships still to be destroyed, to be 'burnt, and to be sunk before our Faces. We may 'compare our Seamen to Sheep feeding upon a 'fair Mountain, in the Midst whereof stands a 'little Grove full of Wolves: Why, Mr. Speaker, 'we are so plagued with them, that they be so 'bold as now and then to take our Harvest-men 'tardy, by Ambuscadoes. I speak with Grief, 'and it was reported unto me by a *Scottish-Man*, 'that Duke *Albert* and the *Infanta* should plainly 'publish, that they would pull down so many of 'the Walls of *England*, that they would easily 'make an Entry. And it had been better for 'Sea-Coast-Men to have given the Queen an 'hundred Subsidies, that they had been long since 'suppress'd. My humble Motion is, that it would 'please the House to enter into Consideration of 'these Things, for the Honour, Good and Safety 'both of the Queen and of the Kingdom.'

Mr. *Peake*. 'I must needs shew unto this 'House (upon so good an Occasion offered) how 'grievously the Town of *Sandwich*, for which I 'serve, is vexed and almost undone; insomuch, 'as in that Town there is neither Owner, Master 'or Mariner that hath not felt it. Her Majesty 'is continually at Charge, but what ensueth or 'cometh of it, I never yet knew. If in the 'County of *Kent* at *Shooter's Hill*, *Gadd's Hill*, '*Barham-Down*, &c. there should many and ofter 'Robberies be committed, and the Justices look

'not

'not to it, this were but an ill Part. Every Day 'Men come Home, their Goods and all they have 'taken away, yea their very Apparel; and if the 'Ships might also be carried away, they would do 'it. This should be amended and looked into. 'We had need to cherish this Subject; I think 'him to be the best and most necessary Member of 'the Common-Wealth, I mean the Navigator. Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. 'My Speech shall only 'tend to advance the Motion of the Gentleman 'that spake first in this Point. If we would have 'Remedy, we are to consider two Things; first, 'That it will be a Matter of Charge; and se-'condly, That there must be a Distribution thereof. 'For the first, I leave it to you; for the second 'it is out of my Element. Withal I must excuse 'them that have Authority to remedy this; for 'unless you would have a continual Charge unto 'her Majesty by having Ships lying betwixt us and '*Dunkirk*, it is impossible but that at some Times 'these Robberies will be committed. I could very 'well agree to bring this Motion to some Head, 'being a Matter, in mine Opinion, very conside-'rable in a Committee; and all said, *Ay*, *Ay*, *Ay*.

Mr. *Dannet*. 'I would only move the House 'that some Masters of Ships and Seamen might be 'sent for to attend at the Committee.' Where-upon it was ordered to be considered of and re-ferr'd to Committees, *viz.* all the Privy Council being Members of this House, the Queen's Learned Council being of this House, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Burgesses for Ports and Sea-faring Towns, and others.

December 12th, The Bill for coming to Church on *Sundays* was read a third Time; and another Debate arose upon it. Further Debate on the Bill for resorting to Church.

Mr. *Bond*. 'This Bill as it is now ingrossed, 'much differeth from the First which we have 'presented, which I the better like of. Notwith-'standing, in my Opinion, the Bill is altogether 'needless, and divers Reasons move me to think it 'both

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'both inconvenient and unneceſſary. Every Evil
'in a State is not to be met with in a Law; and
'as it is in natural, ſo it is in politick Bodies, that
'ſometimes the Remedy is worſe than the Diſeaſe.
'And therefore particular Laws againſt particular
'Offences induce Novelty, and in Novelty Con-
'tempt. If this Bill paſſeth, there will be two
'Imputations happen to the State, which Wiſdom
'wills us both to foreſee and ſhun: The firſt an
'Infamy to our Miniſters, that our Adverſaries
'may ſay, This is the Fruit of your Labour to
'have preached away your Audience out of the
'Church: The ſecond no leſs, but rather a greater
'Imputation upon our Archbiſhops and other
'Eccleſiaſtical Governors, that they be either
'remiſs in their Authority, or elſe that their Pre-
'rogative hath not ſo much Power as a Twelve-
'penny Fine. And, doubtleſs, theſe Imputations
'cannot be avoided, if we give the *Jeſuits* ſuch
'Head, Scope and Comfort, as they, in their
'Writings, greedily apprehend. I do, Mr. Speaker,
'conceive great Difference betwixt *primo Eliz.*
'when Time was, and this Law of 44 *Eliz.*
'as now it is. Then the People were newly
'taken from Maſſing and Superſtition: Now they
'are planted in Truth, and rooted in Religion.
'The Light did then ſcarce appear unto them,
'which now ſhineth with glorious Beams upon
'our Teachers and Eccleſiaſtical Judges. Suppoſe
'that a Neglector of Church-Service comes to
'the Seſſions there to be examined, alledging an
'Excuſe; many Buſineſſes ſo concern the Doer
'not to be known, that to ſpeak Truth would be
'a Wound unto his Conſcience; and to ſay his
'Buſineſs, was a meer Mockery; and to ſay an
'Untruth, an apparent Danger. If this Law
'may ſtand for a Law, methinks I foreſee what
'Breach of Charity will happen. Say there be
'Forty in a Town abſent, the Church-Warden
'preſents ſome and not others: It will be objec-
'ted unto him, Wherefore ſhould I be preſented
'and not he? Why, my Wife, my Son, my

'Ser-

'Servant, my Friend, not his? &c. Will not this Queen Elizabeth. 1601.
'be a great Breach to Unity and Peace? Juſt
'Proſecution will be infinitely cumberſome, and
'partial Connivance ſubject to Quarrel. Not-
'withſtanding this Statute, we leave Power to the
'Eccleſiaſtical Judge, whoſe Courſe is to proceed
'to Excommunication, and ſo an *Excommunicato capiendo* muſt be had. This is as great a Charge
'as the Indictment in the Statute of *Primo*. In
'this Statute a Witneſs or Two muſt be brought
'to the Seſſions, he muſt be preſented to the Grand-
'Jury, and ſo indicted; this will coſt five Shillings,
'a Noble or ten Shillings, which is as much as the
'Charge in the firſt Statute. So becauſe this Bill
'is ſcandalous to the Clergy, ſcandalous to the State,
'repugnant to Charity and *Crambe recocta*; I
'humbly pray it may be rejected.'

Sir *Francis Haſtings*. 'I ſhall ſpeak upon
'great Diſadvantage; I perceive this Member of
'our Houſe hath taken ſtudied Pains to diſturb the
'Paſſage of this Bill. To which I ſhall not ſo
'well anſwer, becauſe I cannot ſo well carry a-
'way the Particulars of this politick, but not re-
'ligious Diſcourſe. If it be Religion to be obedi-
'ent at Pleaſure; if I could be zealous To-day,
'and cold To-morrow, I could ſubſcribe to all
'that he hath ſaid. We cannot do a more ac-
'ceptable Thing to God, or a more dutiful Ser-
'vice to the State, than bring Men to fear God.
'Religion and Policy may well ſtand together:
'But as that Policy is moſt deteſtable which hath
'not Religion to warrant it, ſo is that Religion
'moſt happy which hath Policy to back and main-
'tain it. I know the *Jeſuits* and Prieſts be out
'of Square, and be at a Jarr amongſt themſelves:
'I pray God it be not to make a Breach among
'us, who be yet in Unity. Wit well applied is
'a profitable Thing; but ill applied, dangerous,
'in whomſoever doth abuſe it.

'There is no Man of Senſe and Religion, but
'thinketh that he is far from Religion [pointing
'at Mr. *Bond*] that ſpoke laſt. Firſt, he ſaid, it
'would

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'would be an Imputation to our Miniſters. That 'Speech was both abſurd in Judgment, and ſlan-'derous in Uttering; as though by the Miniſters 'of the Word we were loth to hear of our Sins, 'or reconcile ourſelves to God. The Second, 'That it was an Imputation on Archbiſhops, Bi-'ſhops, *&c.* I am ſo far from blaming their Go-'vernment, that I renounce that Poſition. I am 'very ſorry that the Strength of their Authority 'ſtretcheth not ſo far as I could wiſh it in this 'Point. But methinks this Law ſhould rather be 'a Credit to the Miniſtry, that now we having 'gone to Church theſe forty-three Years ourſelves, 'are ſo fervent in Religion, that we deſire alſo 'that others may do the like. I beſeech you, 'give me Leave to wipe off a Grievance, which, 'it ſeems, the Gentleman that laſt ſpake imputeth 'unto me. He hath made a Proteſtation that he 'is no Papiſt: I appeal to you all if I ſaid he was, 'And I ſay he is no Puritan, if he be not a Papiſt; 'for if ever there be a Puritan in *England*, it is a 'Papiſt. I learned of Dr. *Humfrey*, who was 'ſometimes my Tutor, a Diviſion of four Sorts 'of Puritans; 1ſt, The Catholick, which holds, 'that a Man cannot ſin after Baptiſm; 2dly, The 'Papiſt, which is ſuch a Merit-monger, that he 'would not only ſave himſelf by his own Merits, 'but by the Merits of others alſo; a 3d Sort are 'the Brownifts or Family of Love, a Sect too 'well known in *England*, I would they had never 'ſo been; the 4th and laſt Sort, are your Evan-'gelical Puritans, which inſiſt wholly upon Scrip-'tures as upon a ſure Ground; and of theſe I 'would we had many more than we now have.

Dr. *Bennet* ſhewed, 'That there were 1300, 'nay 1500 Recuſants in *Yorkſhire*, which he vouch-'ed, upon his Credit, were preſented both in the 'Eccleſiaſtical Court, and before the Council at '*York*.'

Sir *Robert Wroth* ſhewed, That he had a Pro-'viſo ready ingroſſed, the Subſtance whereof was, 'That if any Man came eight Times a Year to

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'the Church, and said the usual Divine Service 'twice every *Sunday* and Holy day in his House, 'with his whole Family, that should be a sufficient Dispensation.' This was utterly misliked: Yet divers, which were desirous to overthrow the Bill, went forth with the Proviso, because they would have it joined with the Bill to overthrow it. Whereupon the House was divided, and upon Division it appeared thus; *Ayes* 126, *Noes* 85. So the Proviso pass'd. Then it was put to the Question for the Bill, but then divers Reasons were shewed, Mr. *Bond's* two Reasons of Prejudice to Ministers and the Clergy, and the Danger by Breach of Charity; that the Information was a Thing contrary to *Magna Charta*; that there might be a Conviction without Inquiry. Queen Elizabeth. 1601.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* shewed, 'That all the Church-'Wardens of every Shire must come to the Assizes 'to give Information to the Grand Jury; say then 'there be 120 Parishes in a Shire, there must now 'come extraordinary 240 Church-Wardens: And 'say that but two in a Parish offend in a Quarter 'of a Year, that makes 480 Persons with the 'Offenders to appear; what great Multitudes this 'will bring together, what Quarrelling and Dan-'ger may happen, besides giving Authority to a 'mean Church-Warden, how prejudicial this may 'be, *&c.* with divers other Reasons against it. 'As also some Ambiguities and Equivocations 'therein; the Proviso newly added being a plain 'Toleration from coming to Church; and that 'the Parson could not present or constrain any if 'they said Service at Home.'

So it was put the Question, the *Ayes* went forth and were 105, and the *Noes* within 106; but then the *Ayes* said they had Mr. Speaker's, which would make it even. And then it grew to a Question, whether he had a Voice. Sir *Edward Hobbie*, who was of the *Aye* Side, said, 'That 'when her Majesty had given us Leave to chuse 'our Speaker, she gave us Leave to chuse one 'out of our own Number, and not a Stranger, a

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'Citizen of *London* and a Member; and therefore 'he hath a Voice.' To which it was answered by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and confirmed by the Speaker himself, 'That he was foreclosed of his Voice by 'taking that Place, which it had pleased them to 'impose upon him; and that he was to be indifferent for both Parties: And withal shewed, that, 'by Order of the House, the Bill was lost.'

Mr. *Bowyer* said, 'I think it not lost, for there 'hath been foul and great Abuse offered in this 'Matter. A Gentleman that would willingly go 'forth according to his Conscience, was pulled 'back: Though I much reverence my Masters of 'the *Temple*, and am bound to our Benchers of 'the *Middle-Temple*, yet if it will please the House, 'and you Mr. Speaker, to command me to name 'him, I will.' The greater Voice said No; yet Mr. Secretary *Cecil* willed him to name him, and he said, 'It was Mr. *Dale* of the *Middle-Temple*.'

Sir *Walter Raleigh*. 'Why, if it please you, 'it is a small Matter to pull one by the Sleeve, for 'so I have done myself oftentimes.' (And great loud Speech and Stir there was in the House.)

Mr. Comptroller (after Silence) said, 'It is a 'most intolerable Disorder. I think the Offence 'is a heinous Offence, both against God and this 'Assembly. For the first, in that every Man is 'to go according to his Conscience, and not by 'Compulsion; and for the other Gentleman, Sir '*Walter Raleigh*, that said he had often done the 'like, I think he may be ashamed of it; for large 'is his Conscience, if in a Matter of so great Consequence he will be drawn either forwards or 'backwards by the Sleeve; and I think it so heinous, that he deserves to answer it at the Bar '(meaning Mr. *Dale*, but because Sir *Walter Raleigh* was last named, it was taken to be meant 'of him.)

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. 'I am sorry to see this 'Disorder, and little do you know how for Disorder this Parliament is taxed, I am sorry I cannot say slandered. I had hoped as this Parlia-

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'ment began gravely and with Judgment, so we 'should have ended modeſtly, and, at leaſt, with 'Diſcretion. I proteſt I have a Libel in my Pocket 'againſt the Proceedings of this Parliament. The 'Offence which the Gentleman that laſt ſpake, 'ſpoke of, I confeſs is great and puniſhable; and 'this I wiſh may be inflicted on him, that he 'whoſe Voice may be drawn either forwards or 'backwards by the Sleeve, like a Dog in a String, 'may be no more of this Houſe; and I wiſh for 'his Credit's Sake he would not. But that it 'ſhould be ſo great to be called to the Bar, I ſee 'no Reaſon; neither do I know why any in this 'Houſe ſhould ſpeak ſo imperiouſly, as to have a 'Gentleman of his Place and Quality (pointing to 'Sir *Walter Raleigh*) called to the Bar, I ſee no 'Reaſon for it: For the Matter itſelf, the *Noes* 'were 106, and the *Ayes* 105, the Speaker hath 'no Voice; and though I am ſorry to ſay it, yet 'I muſt needs confeſs, loſt it is, and farewel it.' And ſo the Houſe roſe confuſedly.

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Which is thrown out.

December 16. A Bill concerning Captains, Soldiers, and Mariners, was read the ſecond Time; and, by reaſon of the Generality of the Bill, it was much accepted againſt by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others.

Mr. *Glaſcock* ſaid, Mr. Speaker, 'I have ſome-'thing touching this Bill to deliver to the Houſe, 'in Diſcharge of my Conſcience. And I do hum-'bly and heartily pray you all, to hear me patient-'ly and quietly, without Interruption.

Debate on a Bill relating to Soldiers, &c.

'I have been obſerved, Mr. Speaker, to be an 'Enemy to Juſtices of the Peace, and to have ſpo-'ken irreverently, and much againſt them: For 'my own Part, I mind now to make my laſt 'Speech for this Parliament, and this Proteſtation 'withal: That I never uſed any irreverent Lan-'guage towards thoſe, whoſe Honeſty joined with 'their Authority, and make themſelves famous, 'under the Title of upright Juſtices. My Speech 'was never uttered againſt them, but againſt two

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'Sorts of Justices, that have Authority at the Commission of Musters; (for all within the County, are authorized generally by the Word Justices) by whom I would be loth to be yoaked, or commanded. The first is, the Uncircumcised Justice of Peace; the other, the Adulterating Justice of Peace.

'The Uncircumcised Justice is he, who from base Stock and Lineage, by his Wealth, is gotten to be within the Commission. And I call him Uncircumcised, because he hath not cut off the Foreskin of his Offences; and so by his Virtue, wiped away the Blot or Stain of Baseness in his Birth and Lineage.

'The Adulterating Justice is he, that is a Gentleman-born, virtuous, discreet, and wise; yet poor and needy. And so only for his Virtues and Qualities, put into the Commission. This Man, I hold unfit to be a Justice, though I think him to be a good Member in the Common-Wealth. Because, I hold this for a Ground infallible, That no poor Man ought to be in Authority; my Reason is this, he will so bribe you, and extort you, that the sweet Scent of Riches and Gain, takes away and confoundeth the true Taste of Justice and Equity. For the Scripture saith, *Munera excœcant Oculos Justorum*; and Justice is never imprisoned and suppressed, but by Bribery. And such kind of Ministers I speak of. And I call him an Adulterating Justice; because, look how many Bribes he taketh, so many Bastards he begets to the Common-Wealth.

'Then let us see, whence these Justices do come, and how they be made. It cannot be denied, but all Justices are made by the Lord Keeper; then he is in Fault, and none else. For my own Opinion I have ever held him to be a Man both honourable, grave, and wise; so just, that never was the meanest Subject so wronged that he ever complained.

'Therefore, his Justice cannot be taxed. *Aye*, but his Care may, for he only maketh them. 'No,

The which the Lord Keeper answered thus in Effect. 'First, as touching her Majesty's proceedings in the Laws for her Royal Assent, that 'should be as God should direct her Sacred Spirit. 'Secondly, For your Presentation of four Subsidies 'and Eight Fifteenths and Tenths; Thirdly, 'your humble Thankfulness for the Pardon, for 'them and yourself; I will deliver her Majesty's 'Commandment with what Brevity I may, that 'I be not tedious to my most gracious Sovereign. 'First she saith, touching your Proceeding in the 'Matter of her Prerogative, that she is persuaded 'Subjects did never more dutifully; and that she 'understood you did but *obiter* touch her Prerogative, and no otherwise but by humble Petition; 'and therefore, that Thanks that a Prince may 'give to her Subjects, she willingly yieldeth: 'But she now well perceiveth, that private Respects are privately masqued under public Pretence. Secondly, touching the Presentation of 'your Subsidy, she specially regardeth two Things, 'both the Persons and the Manner; for the 'first, she fell into Commendations of the Commonalty; for the second, the Manner, which 'was speedy, not by Persuasion or persuasive Inducements, but freely out of Duty with great 'Contentment. In the Thing which ye have 'granted, her Majesty greatly commendeth your 'Confidence and Judgment; and though it be 'not proportionable to her Occasions, yet she most 'thankfully receiveth the same as a loving and 'thankful Prince; and that no Prince was ever 'more unwilling to exact or receive any thing 'from the Subject than she, our most gracious 'Sovereign; for we all know she never was a 'greedy Grasper nor strait-handed Keeper; and 'therefore she commanded me to say, that you 'have done (and so she taketh it) dutifully, plentifully and thankfully.'

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The Lord Keeper's Answer.

'For yourself, Mr. Speaker, her Majesty commanded me to say, that you have proceeded 'with

Queen Elizabeth. 1601. 'with such Wisdom and Discretion, that it is 'much to your Commendations; and that none 'before you hath deserved more.'

And so he ended, after an Admonition given to 'the Justices of the Peace, 'That they would not 'deserve the Epithets of prolling Justices, Justi-'ces of Quarrels, who counted Champerty good 'Chevesance, Sinning Justices who do suck and 'consume the Wealth and Good of the Common-'Wealth; and also against those who lie (if not 'all the Year, yet) at least three Quarters of the 'Year in this City of *London*.'

The Parliament dissolv'd. After all this, and the Queen's Royal Assent given to nineteen Public Acts and ten Private, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, diss-olv'd this Parliament.

The Death of the Queen. We have now done with the last Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*, which she survivy'd only about two Years, dying in a good old Age, at her Manor of *Richmond*, *March* the 24th, *Anno* 1603, in the 44th Year of her Reign; which Day, being *Thurs-day*, old *Stowe* makes this whimsical Remark: 'That it was a Day of the Week fatal to *Henry* VIII, and all his Posterity: For he died on *Thursday January* the 28th; King *Edward*, on *Thursday* the 6th of *July*; Queen *Mary*, on *Thursday* the 17th of *November*; and Queen *Elizabeth*, on *Thursday*, *March* the 24th.

This Queen was the first that suppress'd all Man-ner of base Money in *England*, and reduced the *English* Coin into Gold and Silver.—In her Reign, considering the great Extent of it, were fewer Parliaments than in any of her immediate Prede-cessors. In the Course of Forty-four Years, she had but nine or ten Parliaments which sat to do Business; and she kept one near eleven Years, by a Multitude of Prorogations, with very few Ses-sions in it.—But then the Speeches and Debates, in most of these Parliaments, are more amply pre-served than in any before. By which the Reader

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is entertained with the Sentiments and politic Views of all the greateſt Stateſmen, Courtiers, and Anti-Courtiers of that Age, as near as poſſible, in their own Words and Expreſſions.——Beſides, The Character of the Queen herſelf, will better appear by her Conduct, Meſſages and Speeches to her Parliaments, than in any other View whatſoever. Queen Elizabeth 1601.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUME.